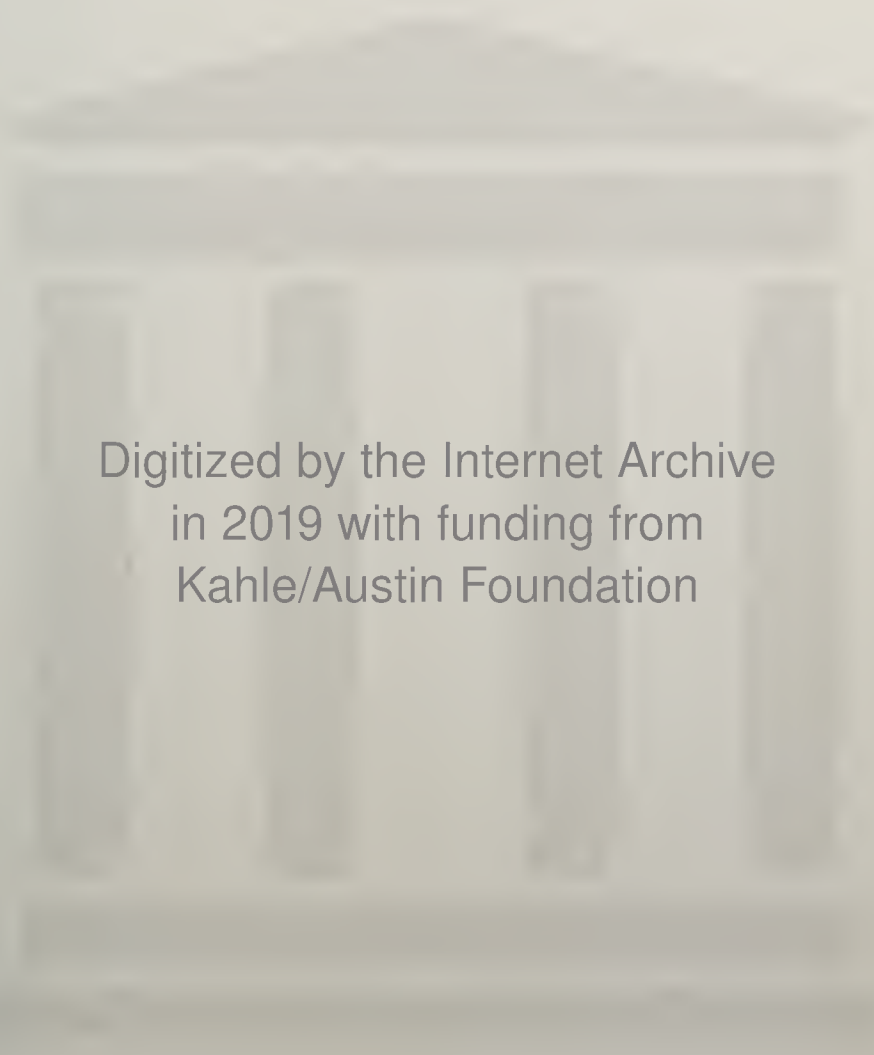


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THE KELSEY PAPERS



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Came up with them the tents of which they had
This will now kept secret was from me
Nor none of those names Indians did see
Until that they their murder all had done
And the chief actor was he I called J. Saxe
So far I have spoken concerning of the spoil
And now will give accot. of that same country soile
Which hitherto is very rich of wood
Affords small multitudes of little cherries very good
Thus it continues till you leave of woods behind
And then you have beasts of severall kind
The one is a blacka Buffallo great
Another is an outgrowne bear ^{which} is good meat
His skin to gett I have used all y^e ~~ways~~ I can
He is mans food & he makes food of man
His hide they would not use it however
But said it was a good & they should have
This plain affords nothing but bear & syngs
And over it in three dayes time we past
A fling unto of woods on the other side
It being about forty six miles wide
This wood is popple ridges with small pieces of grass
There is beaver in abundance but no better
With plains & ridges is the country throughout
Their enemies many whom they cannot see
But now of late they hunt their enemies
And with our English guns do make y^e ^{on} filie
Occurring point after the first
Set up their a certain cross
In token of my being ~~there~~ there
Out out on it y^e date of year
And likewise for to verify the same
Added to it my master Sir Edward Springes name
I having not more to trouble you with all I can
Sir your most obedient & faithfull Servant
Henry Nelson

THE KELSEY PAPERS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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INTRODUCTION

(a) *The Kelsey Papers*

In the year 1926 certain documents were presented to the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland by Major A. F. Dobbs, of Castle Dobbs, Carrickfergus. These had been collected by Arthur Dobbs, author and statesman, who in addition to displaying varied interests, and no small influence, in colonial affairs during the eighteenth century—he was Governor of North Carolina from 1754 until his death in 1765—distinguished himself as a critic of the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In the Dobbs Collection were found *The Kelsey Papers*, now classified in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, as D.O.D. No. 162, and here published jointly by the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and the Public Archives of Canada. These papers—journals, letters and memoranda—are, it seems probable, in the handwriting of Henry Kelsey himself. A comparison with his signature attached to certain letters in Hudson's Bay House is, however, inconclusive. The text here used was transcribed from the original under the supervision of Dr. James F. Kenney of the Public Archives of Canada. Dr. Kenney has also seen the present volume through the press.

The Kelsey Papers are in one volume of 128 pages, in a coarse paper cover, probably the original binding. At the top of the first page, in the same handwriting as what follows, is the title "Henry Kelsey his Book being ye Gift of James Hubbud in the year of our Lord 1693." In that year Kelsey was in England—he had returned from Hudson Bay in 1692. Who James Hubbud was we do not know.¹ It seems probable that Kelsey's words record merely a gift of a blank copy-book from a friend. It is obvious that the majority of the texts which follow are

¹ There was an Isaac Hubbud in the service of the Company in Hudson Bay in 1689. See p. 31 *infra*.

transcripts, and the probable inference is that they were copied by Kelsey for his own private use, the originals going into the files of the Hudson's Bay Company. The first document in point of time is the Churchill *Journal* of 1689, but the rhymed introduction to that of 1691 has first place in the manuscript volume.

How *The Kelsey Papers* came into the possession of Arthur Dobbs is not now known, and it would be rash, perhaps, to conjecture. The last entry in them is of date 1722, and Dobbs's controversy with the Hudson's Bay Company began only after Kelsey's death. Internal evidence in Dobbs's own writings is fragmentary and almost altogether negative. In Dobbs's book of 1744—*An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*—there is no reference to Kelsey. It seems safe to say that he knew nothing of his papers at that time. By 1749, on the other hand, Dobbs had not only heard of Kelsey but was prepared to impugn the whole account of him which the Company had prepared for the Parliamentary Committee of that date. In the *Dobbs Collection* is a manuscript *Commentary on the Case of the Hudson's Bay Company as presented to the Committee of 1749*. This is in the handwriting of Arthur Dobbs himself, and it is followed so closely by Robson in his *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay*, 1752, Appendix I, that a common origin seems self-evident. It is possible that Dobbs's *Commentary* is a paraphrase of Robson, made at some period between 1752, when Robson's book was published, and 1754, when Dobbs left for North Carolina. Internal evidence, on the other hand, indicates the reverse, for the Robson *Appendix* shows the marks of careful literary craftsmanship. Both agree, however, upon the story that appeared in print for the first time in Robson and formed the foundation, as we shall see, of a Kelsey tradition which has survived in one form or another for nearly 200 years. Impugning the Company's claim to have sent Kelsey to the prairies upon a journey of discovery, Dobbs charged that "Geyer [the Governor at York Fort] did not send him up, but that upon some Boyish misbehaviour he had been severely corrected by the Governrs. orders and being very great [*sic*] and Intimate with the Indians he took an opportunity of running away with them; so that Geyer finding the Company desirous

of sending up upon Discoveries made a Merit of his going up and said he sent him up." This story Robson claims to have heard during his stay of six years on Hudson Bay—a tradition which we must presently examine. It will be conceded that this story could scarcely have survived an honest examination of *The Kelsey Papers*. So too with other details of the *Commentary* which Dobbs must have added in good faith. He charges that Geyer "did not comply with their former Instructions" of 1688 to send Kelsey to the Churchill—"which was not Done [he adds] and no reason assigned for that neglect." *The Kelsey Papers* prove not only that the instructions were complied with but that the Churchill journey was made, and recorded in minute detail, by Kelsey himself. The meagre conclusion may perhaps be allowed that *The Kelsey Papers* came into Dobbs's possession only when his bitterest attacks upon the Company were being abandoned. Did they contribute in any degree to that result?

(b) *The Kelsey Tradition*

The true story of Henry Kelsey supplants a myth which has been in historical currency for nearly two hundred years—a curious instance of cumulative prejudice and inaccuracy.

Since Robson's *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay*¹ the claim of the Hudson's Bay Company that Kelsey was sent by them "to travel and to penetrate into the Country," and that he "cheerfully undertook the Journey," has been met with incredulity. The tradition arose that Kelsey was "but a boy" who had run away from the harsh discipline of Governor Geyer at York Fort at the mouth of the Nelson; and that the Company "made a merit of Kelsey's going up" by fabricating the garbled pages of his *Journal* in order to conceal their failure to explore the vast regions claimed by their Charter. "From many circumstances mentioned in this journal," wrote Robson, "I no more believe that it is Kelsey's than it is mine."² This story has since been embellished with much ingenuity, both in fiction and in sober history. *The Kelsey Papers* now supply not only the truth about the journeys of 1690-2 but an outline, at

¹ Joseph Robson, London, 1752.

² *Id.*, p. 73.

times in great detail, of Kelsey's activities from the time he entered the service of the Company in 1684 to the year 1722, four years after he became Governor of York Fort.

The name of Henry Kelsey¹ appears for the first time in print in the *Report* of the British Parliamentary Committee (April 24, 1749) "Appointed to enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay."² This enquiry was the outcome of one of the most determined attacks ever made upon the Hudson's Bay Company as to the validity of their Charter. After fourteen years of agitation, the voyage of the *Dobbs-Galley* and the *California* had been, in 1746-7, undertaken by public subscription for the discovery of the North-West Passage. In this project Arthur Dobbs, in whose library at Castle Dobbs, Carrickfergus, were found *The Kelsey Papers*, was undoubtedly the moving spirit; and his own book, *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, published in 1744, sufficiently illustrates his motives. Another shareholder was Henry Ellis, afterwards Governor of Georgia, friend of William Knox the confidant of Grenville and Lord North, and for a time Governor of Nova Scotia (1761-3) after the death of Lawrence. Ellis's account in *A Voyage to Hudson's-Bay*,³ published in 1748, and two volumes published by William Drage, "Clerk of the California" in 1749,⁴ attest the public interest as well as the less disinterested motives of Dobbs and his associates in the contest against the Company. In 1748 a petition found its way to the law officers of the Crown, and to a Parliamentary Committee. The burden of the petition was for "the like Privileges and Royalties as were granted to the said Company"; and the main charge was that "they have not discovered, nor sufficiently attempted to discover, the North-west Passage into the *South Seas*."⁵ It was in rebuttal of this charge that the Company submitted what purported to be "A

¹ Journals, letters, etc., in *The Kelsey Papers* are uniformly signed "Kelsey." The *Journal* in the *Report* of 1749 is attributed to "Henry Kelsey," the spelling retained by Burpee in *The Search for the Western Sea*, pp. 96-113; the letters—no fewer than eight on pp. 254, 274-5 of the *Report*—uniformly use the form "Kelsey," and the same spelling is found in Kelsey's own letters in Hudson's Bay House.

² *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, vol. II (1803), pp. 213-286.

³ Ellis sailed with the expedition "in quality of Agent for the Committee." *Voyage*, p. 104.

⁴ *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, 2 Vols., Lond., 1748.

⁵ *Report*, 1749, p. 285.

JOURNAL of a Voyage and Journey undertaken by *Henry Kelsey*, to discover, and endeavour to bring to a Commerce, the *Naywatamee Poets*, 1691.”¹

The *Journal* was accompanied by circumstantial evidence. Preceding it in the *Report* (Appendix No. XXVII) are excerpts from letters between the Company and various Governors on the Bay from May 9, 1676, to June 4, 1719.² As early as 1683 Governor Sargeant was instructed to “choose out from amongst our Servants such as are best qualified with Strength of Body and the Country Language, to travel and to penetrate into the Country.” “For their Encouragement, we shall plentifully reward them.” Nothing, however, could induce them to stir from the Bay. Sargeant reported in 1685 that neither the four men specifically chosen “nor any of your Servants will travel up the Country.” Finally in June, 1688, the Company directed Governor Geyer to send “the Boy *Henry Kelsey* to *Churchill* River with *Thomas Savage*, because we are informed he is a very active Lad, delighting much in Indians Company, being never better pleased than when he is travelling amongst them.” How did this “very active Lad” first attract the notice of the Company? Who was “*Thomas Savage*”? Was Kelsey sent to the Churchill? How did he come to undertake the journey to the prairies in search of the “*Naywatamee Poets*”? The answers to these questions, as we shall see, are to be found for the first time in *The Kelsey Papers*.

But there were several features of the *Journal* which invited suspicion, and the fact that the enemies of the Company were allowed to exploit these with impunity was taken in itself as *prima facie* evidence. The title of the *Journal* appears in triplicate and the text in duplicate in the *Report* of 1749. The first title in the *List of the Appendix* (p. 236) and in the text (Number XXVII, p. 273) was evidently intended to cover all the evidence submitted by the Company with regard to Kelsey. It reads: “A JOURNAL of *Henry Kelsey* in the Years 1691, and 1692,

¹ *Id.*, p. 276. “Poets” seems to have been a suffix attached to the names of several Indian tribes as these were written by the English in Hudson Bay. Kelsey speaks of the “*Naywatame Poets*” and the “*Mountain Poets*,” and in the records of the Company are found also the designations “*Assinae Poets*” and “*Kanebickapoets*.” Cf. Gideon D. Scull, *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson* (Boston: The Prince Society, 1885) p. 345.

² *Id.*, pp. 273-6.

sent by the *Hudson's Bay Company* to make Discoveries, and increase their Trade Inland from the Bay." Number XXVIII is "A JOURNAL of a Voyage and Journey undertaken by *Henry Kellsey*, to discover, and endeavour to bring to a Commerce, the *Naywatamee Poets*, 1691." It is dated "July the 5th." Under the same number in the Appendix is a "Duplicate" dated "July 15th, 1692"—obviously the same journal with trifling variations in both title and text. The first closes with the words, "Sir, I remain, Your most Obedient, and Faithful Servant, Henry Kellsey"; the second, "I rest, Honourable Masters, Your most Obedient, and Faithful Servant, At Command, Henry Kellsey." Assuming that the Company and not the printer was responsible for these irregularities, Robson ingeniously implied an attempt to pass off the record as "two journals; one in 1691 in compliance with the governor, and the other in 1692 in obedience to the Company."¹

It is noteworthy that neither Arthur Dobbs, among whose papers at Carrickfergus *The Kelsey Papers* were found, nor Ellis and Drage, so far as we know, ever impugned the *Kelsey Journal* in print, though Dobbs in his *Commentary* (already noted) is as sceptical as Robson himself with regard to its authenticity. It is noteworthy, too, that Dobbs had no comment whatever to make on Kelsey before the Parliamentary Committee (p. 228). In 1752, however, Joseph Robson—also a witness in 1749—in his *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay*, attacked not only the authenticity of the *Kelsey Journal* but the *bona-fides* of the Company's correspondence. Robson was a stone-mason—he built much of Fort Prince of Wales at Churchill—who wrote under the title of "Late Surveyor and Supervisor of the Buildings to the Hudson's-bay Company." How Umfreville, who wrote in 1790, could refer to him as "a candid, true, and impartial writer"² it is hard to understand. Both, however, had quarrelled with the Company. In truth, Robson's rancour against the "sea officers principles" in vogue at Hudson Bay is self-evident in his own scathing narrative, and he himself suggests that the Company induced

¹ Robson, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 23.

² *The Present State of Hudson's Bay*, Edward Umfreville, London, 1790, p. 4.

him to go to the Bay the second time (1744-7) "to keep me from Mr. Dobbs."¹

The account which Robson professed to have received from "the servants in the Bay" was as follows:

"Henry Kelsey, a little boy, used to take great delight in the Company of the natives, and in learning their language, for which, and some unlucky tricks that boys of spirit are always guilty of, the governor would often correct him with great severity. He resented this deeply; and when he was advanced a little in years and strength, he took an opportunity of going off with some distant Indians, to whom he had endeared himself by a long acquaintance and many little offices of kindness.

"A YEAR or two after, the governor received by an Indian a piece of birch-rind folded up, and written upon with charcoal. This was a letter from Kelsey; in which he intreated the governor to pardon him for running away, and to suffer him to return with favour and encouragement. Accordingly he came down with a party of Indians, dressed after their manner, and attended by a wife, who wanted to follow him into the factory. The governor opposed this; but upon Kelsey's telling him in English, that he would not go in himself if his wife was not suffered to go in, he knew him, and let them both enter. Many circumstances of his travels were related: that the Indians once left him asleep; and while he slept, his gun was burnt by the fire's spreading in the moss, which he afterwards stocked again with his knife: that he and an Indian were one day surprised by two grizzled bears, having but just time to take shelter, the Indian in a tree, and Kelsey among some high willows; the bears making directly to the tree, Kelsey fired and killed one of them; the other, observing from whence the fire came, ran towards the place; but not finding his prey, returned to the tree, which he had just reached when he dropped by Kelsey's second fire. This action obtained him the name of Miss-top-ashish, or Little Giant.

"WHEN Kelsey was afterwards made governor of Yorkfort, I was told that he wrote a vocabulary of the Indian language, and that the Company had ordered it to be suppressed."²

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

² *Id.*, p. 72.

Robson's criticism of the correspondence in the *Report* of 1749, and of the *Journal* itself, it will be unnecessary to examine here.¹ "Sufficient to discredit the whole," he concluded, was Kelsey's claim to have followed a party of Indians over the prairies several days behind them: "computing, I suppose, the number of men, the weight of their bodies, the size of their feet, and the angle of each step."² It is but fair to add that many of the embellishments of the Kelsey myth have been added since the pages of Robson were written in 1752. Such is the havoc wrought by prejudice when unhampered by the discipline of historical evidence.

(c) *Kelsey's Own Story*

The Kelsey Papers supply for the first time a fairly comprehensive outline of Kelsey's activities from 1683 to 1722. Why they close in 1722 we shall, perhaps, be able to conjecture.

The eleven journals, letters, memoranda, etc., in the series cover a wide range of interest. They explain the Company's choice of Kelsey as early as 1688 for the task of inland discovery. It has been assumed that the Churchill project of that date was never undertaken. Kelsey's own journal of 1689 now supplies in detail the story of that ill-fated enterprise. The journal of 1691, too, is found here unabridged, with a rhymed introduction by Kelsey himself—perhaps the most valuable pages of the entire series, since they fix approximately the location of Deering's Point, whence the journeys of 1690 and 1691 began, and prove beyond reasonable doubt that Robson's story, impugning alike the good faith of the Company and the achievements of Kelsey himself, was a groundless fabrication. With the location of Deering's Point, the range of Kelsey's memorable travels—the preliminary journey of 1690 and the more ambitious project of 1691—is brought within the bounds of reasonable conjecture. The five closely packed pages of Kelsey's *Acco^t of those Indians belief and Superstitions*, is the first outline, if we are not mistaken, of the life and customs of the plain Indians.³ Beyond a

¹ "I no more believe that it is Kelsey's, than it is mine." *Id.*, pp. 72-4, and Appendix, pp. 14-25.

² "I would not undertake to follow any track but a beaten one." *Id.*, p. 74.

³ "Having been amongst ye Stone Indians of late."

doubt Kelsey was the first white man to reach the Canadian prairies and to see the plain Indians hunt the buffalo.

The *Journal* of 1694 with the surrender of York Fort "to Mr. Diberveall" on October 4, and that of 1696-7 with the second surrender to Iberville on September 3, 1697, are of great historical interest. For sixteen years after the Treaty of Ryswick in that year the hold of the Company upon the Bay came almost to an end. For Kelsey himself the autobiographical notes at the close of *The Kelsey Papers*—"Memorandum of my abode in Hudsons bay from 1683 to 1722"—will explain many tantalizing problems raised by the vagaries of the Kelsey tradition, leaving others, however, still unsolved among the mysteries of those eventful years.

Why the *Memorandum* closes at August 16, 1722, it is possible, perhaps, to conjecture. Despite the prevalent tradition to the contrary, the decade following the Treaty of Utrecht, which re-established the Company's hold upon the Bay, were years of great activity. In 1719 Captain Knight with the *Albany* and the *Discovery* had sailed away to the northward, never to return. Nearly fifty years later a whaling-ship found the wreck upon the bleak rocks of Marble Island. For months, the Esquimaux said, the survivors, crazed with hunger and solitude, fought for their lives against the wolves and the cold, scanning the horizon in vain, day after day, for a sail.¹ On June 1, 1720, the Company had written to Kelsey, then Governor at York Fort, "to send us Copies of all those Journals that have been kept by yourself and others, and what Discoveries have been made in the Voyages to the Northward."² At the same time Kelsey was submitting to the Company his own "Design of Wintering to the Northward." The following year, as he notes in his *Journal*, he had "Intentions of going farther to ye Noward to look for ye place where ye albany sloop was lost we seeing things belonging to those vessels." The Company, however, countermanded Kelsey's design of "Wintering farther Northward [than Churchill], to the Hazard of your Life, and those with you," but they despatched the *Whalebone Sloop*

¹ Samuel Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, 1769-1772*, London, 1795.

² *Report*, 1749, p. 254.

to be "sent upon Discovery next Year [1722], as soon as the Season of the Year will permit," and to return by "the Beginning of September."¹ Kelsey's last memorandum is dated August 16, 1722, when the "*Whalebone* came in here from Churchill." It seems reasonable to suppose that the last date in *The Kelsey Papers* is related in some way to Kelsey's final project of northern discovery in 1722 and to the Company's request for "Copies of all those Journals that have been kept by yourself." Was the "Duplicate" *Journal* published in the *Report* of 1749 taken from these "Copies" of 1722?

But the problems at this point begin to multiply. The *Journal* of 1691 in *The Kelsey Papers*, with its rhymed introduction for the voyage of 1690, is from "Henry Kelsey his Book being ye gift of James Hubbud in the year of our Lord 1693." At this time Kelsey himself was in England.² How did *The Kelsey Papers*, here published, find their way into the possession of Arthur Dobbs? What happened to Kelsey after 1722? He must have been well over 50 years of age at that time, but gallant old Knight was over 70 when he undertook the ill-starred expedition which ended at Marble Island. Much, as we shall see, is to be found in the papers of Hudson's Bay House to supplement the meagre knowledge of Kelsey's movements after 1720. He was recalled in 1722, under certain charges that were never, it seems, pressed against him. He applied for another command in 1724 but the ship he applied for was not that year sent to the Bay. In 1730 Mrs. Kelsey was a widow applying for a pension. These details and many others are to be gleaned from the *Minute Books* and *Letter Books* of the Hudson's Bay Company. Under this category they will be noted presently in greater detail. But the whole story of Kelsey's closing years will perhaps be known only when the treasures of Hudson's Bay House can be systematically classified, and carefully searched for this purpose.

The chief revelations in *The Kelsey Papers* must be sought in detail in the papers themselves. A very brief summary must suffice here by way of introduction. Curiously enough the

¹ *Ibid.*

² See below, p. 112.

earliest detail fixed by Kelsey is found to be an error. "In 83," he writes, "I went out in ye ship *lucy* Jno. Outlaw commandr." We are indebted to Mr. Leveson-Gower of Hudson's Bay House for evidence that the *Lucy* came to Hudson's Bay only in 1684. How Kelsey attracted the notice of the Company is stated as follows: "In 88¹ after 3 indians being employ'd for great rewards to carry letters from hays river to new severn they return'd wthout performing ye business altho paid then was I sent wth an indian boy & in a month return'd wth answers." It was "ye same Indian boy" under the name of "Thomas Savage" who accompanied Kelsey on the ill-fated Churchill expedition of 1689, for on June 2, 1688, the Company had directed that "the Boy *Henry Kelsey* be sent to *Churchill* River with *Thomas Savage*, because we are informed he is a very active Lad, delighting much in Indians Company, being never better pleased than when he is travelling amongst them."

The *Churchill Journal* is a grim story of hardship and failure. Striking inland "about 20 Leagues from Churchill River," (June 27) Kelsey and his lone companion marched over barren lands with "abundance of Musketers" and with "no shelter but ye heavens for a Cannope." On July 9 he "spyed two Buffillo" (musk-oxen) with horns that "Joyn together upon their forehead & so come down ye side of their head & turn up till ye tips be Even with ye Buts their Hair is near a foot long." Thus Kelsey, it would seem, is the first white man to see the musk-ox. After 128 miles he found a decided "backwardness" in "Thomas Savage," who "told me," adds Kelsey, "I was a fool & yt he would go no further for I was not sensible of ye dangers." Returning to Churchill they found that the house then being built for the trade "was Reduced to ashes and yt most of ye things were Burnt." At York Fort, concludes Kelsey, "I went to ye Govern^r taking ye Indian Boy wth me & acquainted him how I had been serv'd by him ye Governors reply was yt I had my labour for my travell since yt ye Governr. Never did Require any further acco^t. of me."

¹ Is this another error for "87"? The Company's letter about "the Boy Henry Kelsey" and "Thomas Savage" is dated, June 2, 1688 (*Report*, p. 274). It could scarcely have been written from London the same year as Kelsey's journey to New Severn.

The next year, however, (1690) Governor Geyer had a harder task for Kelsey. "This Summer," he wrote, "I sent up *Henry Kelsey* (who chearfully undertook the Journey) up into the Country of the *Assinae Poets*, with the Captain of that Nation, to call, encourage, and invite, the remoter Indians to a Trade with us." In 1691 came "a Letter from *Henry Kelsey*, the young Man I sent up last Year with the *Assinae Poets*." The Governor had sent Kelsey "a Supply of those Things he wrote for," and had ordered him "to return the next Year, with as many Indians as he can." In September, 1692, Geyer wrote that Kelsey had come down "with a good Fleet of Indians." This is the record in the *Report* of 1749, and it is now corroborated in great detail by *The Kelsey Papers*.

"Ye Compy.", writes Kelsey, "employed 2 french men viz, Gooseberry [Groseilliers?] & Grammair to go amongst ye Natives to draw ym to a trade but they did not go 200 miles from ye factory upon w^{ch} I was sent away wt ye stone Indians in whose Country I remained 2 years." ¹ In the rhymed introduction to the *Journal* of 1691, Kelsey is still more explicit:

"In sixteen hundred & ninety'th year
I set forth as plainly may appear
And for my masters interest I did soon
† Sett from ye house [York Fort] ye twealth of June
Then up ye River I with heavy heart
Did take my way & from all English part
To live amongst ye Natives of this place
If god permits me for one two years space
The Inland Country of Good report hath been
By Indians but by English yet not seen
Gott on ye borders of ye stone Indian Country
I took possession on ye tenth Instant July
And for my masters I speaking for ym all
This neck of land I deerings point did call

¹ *Memorandum*, 1690, See below, p. 111. By "Gooseberry" and "Grammair" are designated Jean Baptiste, son of Médard Chouart des Groseilliers, and Elie Grimard, whose names, in various and curious spellings, are found several times in the *Minutes* of the Hudson's Bay Company. On March 13, 1685, they and two other Frenchmen were "entertained in the Company's service" for four years, Chouart at £100 per annum, Grimard at a salary rising from £30 to £45 per annum.

Distance from hence by Judgement at ye lest
From ye house six hundred miles southwest
Through Rivers wch run strong with falls
thirty three Carriages five lakes in all."

By September he had passed through wood of "small nutts wth little cherries very good till you leave ye woods behind:"

"And then you have beast of severall kind
The one is a black a Buffillo great
Another is an outgrown Bear wch. is good meat
He is mans food & he makes food of man
This plain affords nothing but Beast & grass
And over it in three days time we past
It being about forty sixe miles wide
At deerings point after the frost
I set up their a Certain Cross
In token of my being there
Cut out on it ye date of year
And Likewise for to veryfie the same
added to it my master sir Edward deerings name."

The second journey from Deering's Point (1691-2) is traced in detail in Kelsey's own *Journal*. After paddling for three days and a half from July 15—71 miles, the last day up a "Stream Running very strong"—Kelsey and his party left the river and followed "ye Stone Indians wch were gone ten days before." During a journey of 55 days, over more than 500 miles of swale and prairie, Kelsey describes how the Indians killed "great Store of Buffillo"; how the "Naywattamee poets," having killed three of the Nayhathaways, had "fled so far, that I should not see them"; how he met the Stone Indians from the south on August 25, so "in number we were 80 Tents"; how Kelsey at a feast on September 3 gave the Governor's message that he would not "trade with ym if they did not cease from warring"; how messengers came at last from the "Naywatame poets"; how he made peace between them and the Stone Indians, and finally on September 12, after presents and an elaborate powwow, got a promise from the Naywatamee chief to come to the Bay. The variations between

the printed *Journals* of the Report of 1749 and the unabridged *Journal* of the Kelsey Papers are by no means slight, but there are no discrepancies that are not easily explained. Thus is Governor Geyer at last vindicated.

In the autumn of 1692 Kelsey returned to England. In 1694 he came back to Hudson Bay but "was taken by ye french and brought home." The story in detail appears in Kelsey's letter of August 8, 1694, and in his *Journal* from August 13 to October 4.¹ Iberville with two French ships arrived on September 14, landing 30 or 40 men, with "mortar pieces" and "Boom shels"; on October 3 came an ultimatum under a flag of truce, that they were "ready to Cannonade and Boombard ye fort & if we would not surrender it they would reduce it to ashes & give us no quarter." Next day the Governor decided to surrender, and with "14 more of us was ordered to go up to Mr. Diberveall." Again Kelsey went to the Bay in 1696 for "ye retaking ye fort again"; but "Mr. Diberville . . . wth 3 Saile" was not to be caught. Next year came the famous actions between the *Pelican* and the *Hampshire*, *Hudson's Bay* and *Deering*. A second time Iberville landed with mortar and bomb. Three times his demands were "denyed"; but in the end, "finding such great force as nine hundred men and ye ill tidings of our own ships," the garrison "marcht out . . . & ye french took possession of ye fort this being ye end of a Tedious winter & tragical Journal by me Henry Kelsey."

A third time Kelsey returned to the Bay in 1698. In 1701 he is "master of ye ship and factory" at East Main; in 1703 he is in England again; in 1706 he comes out as "mate of ye perry frigte"—his taste for seamanship now dominant in his journals—and trader again to East Main. He is back in England in 1712; returns to the Bay when the French claims are forever set at rest in the Treaty of Utrecht; and in 1718, at last, becomes Governor of his old post at York Fort. He is busy with his projects for discovery and "Wintering to the Northward" when the curtain falls upon his adventurous career in *The Kelsey Papers* in 1722. The rest of his life must be pieced together from other sources. There seems to be no record of

¹ See below, pp. 33, 39-45.

his return to the Bay after his recall in 1722, and it seems safe to say that his bones rest in English soil.

Much that we should like to know about Kelsey is as elusive as the mist which he once described at York Fort. The precocious courage of "the Boy *Henry Kelsey*" is never belied during the forty years, nearly, of his recorded life. In his Churchill journey "Thomas Savage" called him a fool because he was "not sensible of ye dangers"; and when they had to build a raft, to cross the river for their return, "it would not Carry us & the goods," adds Kelsey, "so put ye Boy & things on it & swim'd over it my self being very cold." In his great venture of 1690 he "was resolved this same Country for to see"; though he added with the truthfulness of real courage, that he had "often been opprest":

"Because I was alone & no friend could find
And once yt in my travels I was left behind
Which struck fear & terror into me."

Robson himself, as we have seen, passes on the tradition that he once killed two grizzly bears on this journey to the prairies, and that the Indians admiringly called him "Miss-top-ashish, or Little Giant"—almost the only note we have of his stature or personal appearance. When the *Whalebone* and *Prosperous* "rid a very hard storm" in 1721, the captain "would have me taken charge of his vessel," and "thank god," adds Kelsey modestly, "we gott both very well in." It was Kelsey who salvaged the *Perry's* cargo and the "Seafords pinnacle." His stout preparations during the "tedious winter" of 1696-7—the "palisadoes," the "brasspieces," the "big mortar," and the "flankers"—were in keeping with his bearing with "Mr. Dibber-veal" as he closed his "tragical Journal" in the following September.

There is more of discretion than of humour in *The Kelsey Papers*; and that, perhaps, is to be expected. On the last day of the old year, 1696, he writes half a dozen lines of Indian dialect¹ in his *Journal*—as a "pleasant fancy of old time . . . because counsel is kept best in one single Breast. Vale." To keep the Stone Indians from the warpath, he notes, "all my

¹ Cree, or some related dialect, but the transliteration is so uncertain that translation cannot be attempted.

arguments prevailed nothing . . . so I seeing it in vain held my peace." He has his jest, too, at the medicine-men who know what "ye firmament of heaven is made of," since they "have been there and seen it." Even the interminable monotony of "patridges," and "wooding" at "the Fourteens," and "goose tents" in the marshes, and "telling Beaver into ye warehouse" at York Fort, is not altogether unrelieved by the fortunes of "Whiskers" and his indigent progeny.

(d) *Kelsey and the Company*

The material relating to Henry Kelsey is so meagre that even the most commonplace fragments may be worthy of record. The details in the *Minute Books* and *Letter Books* of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in the *Journals* of the posts on Hudson Bay, are frequently prosaic—records of salary paid or agreed upon, appointments made, results commended or criticized. But many have an interest little anticipated when these formal entries were made, while some of them are fairly charged with history. It may be advisable to collect a few of these items here in chronological order for purposes of record.

Henry Kelsey entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as an apprentice on April 14, 1684. He was at this date, it would seem, 14 years of age. In that case the year of his birth was the year of the Hudson's Bay Charter. His first engagement was for a period of four years, at the end of which he was to receive the sum of £8.0.0 "and two shutes of apparell."¹

On May 2, 1684, there is an entry in the *Minute Book*: "Paid to John Butlaw for disbursements for Henry Kesley as one of the Compa. apprentices £5.12.0."

Four years later, on June 2, 1688, the instructions, afterwards quoted in the *Report* of 1749, were issued to Governor Geyer: "That the Boy Henry Kelsey bee Sent to Churchill River with Thomas Savage because Wee are Informed hee is a very active Lad Delighting much in Indians Compa. being never better pleased then when he is Travelling amongst them."²

¹ H.B.C. *Minute Book*, April 14, 1684. Hudson's Bay House.

² H.B.C. *Letter Book* 602, p. 5. Hudson's Bay House.

Nothing further is noted of the Churchill journey, but when Geyer reported (September 8, 1690) "This summer I sent up Henry Kelsey (who chearfully undertook the Journey) up into the Country of the ASSINAEPOETS with the Captain of this Nation," the Company replied (May 21, 1691) that they were "glad you prevailed with Henry Kelsey to undertake a Journey with the Indians to those Remote parts hoping the Encouragement. you have given him in yt advance of his Sallery will Instigate other young men in the factory to follow his Example."¹ This "advance of his Sallery" must refer to the new engagement at the end of Kelsey's four years of apprenticeship, in 1688, for the journey to the prairies in 1690-2 was to be rewarded by Governor Geyer at his discretion. "We are glad," the Company wrote on June 17, 1693, "that Henery Kelsey is safe returned and brought a good fleet of Indians downe with him and hope he has effected yt wch he was sent about in Keeping the Indians from warring one with another, that they may have the more time to look after theire trade. . . . As for the Service Henery Kelsey has done us in traveling up into the Countery you being imediate Judges of his demerits we leave it to your discretion to gratifie him for the same."²

On April 25, 1694, Kelsey, who was then, as we have seen, in England, was engaged by the Company at a salary of £30 per annum. On May 30, 1694, there is a letter from the Company to Captain Knight: "Wee have delivered to Kelsey one gun made by Capt. Silke 4 foote long which he is to use in ye voyage and is to deliver into the ffactory at his arrivall."³ In 1698 Kelsey was re-engaged for a period of three years at a salary of £25 (£5 less than his previous salary) "But upon Gouvr. Knights recommendation of his Fidelity and diligance in all respects," adds the Company, "to have £5 per annum more advanced to him."⁴ It is fair to add that this was just after the disastrous Treaty of Ryswick when retrenchment was the order of the day. Kelsey's share in the recapture of York Fort in 1696, futile though it proved to be, was acknowledged

¹ *Id.*, p. 43.

² *Id.*, p. 68.

³ *Id.*, p. 103.

⁴ *Minute Book*, May 25, 1698.

by the Hudson's Bay Committee "on Board the Dering frigitt. at the Nore" on May 31, 1697. "We thanke God," they wrote, "for the success you had last yeare in Retakeing Yorke ffort."¹

During the lean years between the Treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht, 1697-1713, Kelsey's name appears frequently in the records of the Company. On June 23, 1702, the committee acknowledged Kelsey's "Letter of 5 Sept. last and are well Satisfied with Gouv. ffullertines makeing you Master of the Knight and Sending you to the East Maine."² Three years later the *Minute Book* (November 28, 1705) contains the entry that "Mr. Henry Kelsey was now Entertained in ye Compies. Service Upon the following Agreemt. Vix [*sic*] to goe with ye Compies. shipp next Expedition for Hudsons Bay as Cheife Trader in the Country and to have ye Sallery of Deputy Gouv. Vix [*sic*] £100 p Ann from his Arivall in ye Country and if Mr Bishop should be Dead, Then to Succeed Him as Deputy Gouv. but if Liveing then Mr Kelsey to be Cheife Trader at Albany Fort."³ By a Minute of the Committee, duly signed by the Governor and Deputy Governor, Kelsey was made "Comdr. of ye Knight frigite as likewise cheife Factor at ye East Maine."⁴

In the year 1707 there are various references to Henry Kelsey in the *Journals* of Anthony Beale of Albany Fort; and a payment of £5 was made on May 14, 1707, to Henry Kelsey's wife.⁵ The *Knight*, on which Kelsey sailed in 1707, failed to reach East Maine "By Reason of Sundry accidents falling out," but the Company "Were glad to hear of your Safe arriveall there and also Recd. your Journall in your outward bound Voyage which wee approve well off."⁶ In the year 1709 there is a payment "to Mrs Eliz Kelsey, wife of Henry Kelsey" of £28.8.2, and in 1710 another of £30.⁷

¹ *Letter Book* 603, p. 59.

² "Wee hope and doe Expect you will be Industrious and faithfull in Dischargeing the Trust Reposed in you." *Id.*, p. 105.

³ *Minute Book*, 227.

⁴ *Id.*, 228, March 19, 1706.

⁵ *Albany Fort*, No. 2. A. 3, 1706-1707; *Minute Book*, 1707.

⁶ *Letter Book*, May 26, 1708.

⁷ *Minute Book*, March 25, 1709, and May 17, 1710.

A letter from the Governor in Committee on May 29, 1710, is of more than passing interest. Kelsey was advised to act solely under the direction of the Governor at Hudson Bay: "without his Consent you are not to act anything upon your owne head and must observe to allow him to have the casting voice You doe well to Educate the men in Literature but especially in the Language that in time wee may send them to travell If wee see it Convenient As for discoveries of mines etc it is noe time to thinke upon them now In times of Peace Something may be done We have sent you your dixonary Printed that you may the better Instruct the young Ladds with you, in ye Indian Language."¹ Is Kelsey's proposal "to Educate the men in Literature" the first note of a long tradition of good books at the Hudson's Bay posts? And is Kelsey's "dixonary Printed" the first indigenous literary product of Rupert's Land? This is evidently the "vocabulary of the Indian language" to which Robson characteristically refers in his *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay*: "When Kelsey was afterwards made governor of York-fort, I was told that he wrote a vocabulary of the Indian language, and that the Company had ordered it to be suppressed."²

In 1711 there are casual references to Kelsey in Anthony Beale's *Factory Journal* at Albany Fort, and on August 1, 1712, the entry that "Capt Ward and Henry Kelsey sail on Board Knight bound for England."³

With the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, the fortunes of the Company were at last restored. Two entries of this period are of great interest. For May 20, 1713, the Company's *Minute Book* contains the following record:

"Mr. Henry Kelsey now gave in his Proposals to serve the Company as Deputy Governour at Port Nelson, under Capt. James Knight (viz): To be Deputy Govr. under Capt: James Knight at £100 pr Ann, & when he returns for England, or in Case of his Death, (which God forbid) I hope to succeed him.

¹ *Letter Book* 603, p. 199.

² P. 72.

³ Anthony Beale, *Factory Journal*, 3.A.3, 1711; 4.A.3, 1712.

"I hope the Company will consider & allow me something for my being left Governour by Mr Fullertine, and if my health should not permit me to stay, then I may have the Liberty to Return by the first oppertunity, otherwise to give one Years Notice before I come Home, & the Company to allow me the Benefit of one Servant with me

"Which proposals of Mr. Henry Kelsey were likewise agreed to by the Committee & his Wages to Commence from his Arrival at Port Nelson."

The other item appears in the *Minute Book* for August 14, 1713. It proves, contrary to the Canadian contentions during the next century, that the rights of the Company were not held by the Crown to have lapsed (for all but Albany Fort and East Main) by virtue of the disastrous Treaty of Ryswick,¹ but that possession was taken by the Crown in 1713 "for Us and In Our Name for the use and benefitt of the Govr. & Compy of adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay & their Successors":

"Two Commissions from Her Majesty (viz) one to Captain James Knight to be Governour, & Mr. Hen. Kelsey to be D. Governour in Hudsons Bay which is to be sent by ye Compies Shipp all which were now Locked up in ye Iron Chest."

"Anne, by the Grace of God Queen of Great Britain france & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. To our Trusty and Well Beloved Captain James Knight and Henry Kelsey Esq Greeting To take posession for Us and In Our Name of the said Bay and Streights, Lands Seas, Sea Coasts, Rivers, Places, Fortresses and other Buildings for the use and benefitt of the Govr. & Compy of adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay & their Successors." ²

Kelsey was kept waiting in England for some time and it was not until May, 1714, that he received his Commission. For this and "the Former Services of Mr. Henry Kelsey," the Committee, "for his Encouragement Doe Agree to give him a

¹ See the evidence of Chief Justice Draper before the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, *Report*, p. 210.

² The Commission is dated July 21, 1713.

gratuity of £75 besides the £25 Lent him by the Compa in all £100.”¹ On May 28, 1714, the Secretary is instructed to have the agreement “Engraved on Stamp Paper in order to be Signed” by the Committee.²

In the York Fort *Journal* (7. A. 3, 1714) is a copy of Governor Knight’s letter describing how he and Kelsey took possession of Fort Nelson in the summer of 1714: “Found the Fort in a most miserable condition—all Rotten and ready to Fall One of the Indians came wn I hoisted ye Union fflag he told me he did not love to see yt he loved to See the White one So there is many of The Indians has Great Friendship for the french here.”

Certain charges were made against Kelsey at this time. They were either made by Captain Knight or were transmitted to the Company by him. The letter containing the charges is not in the records, but it would appear from a letter from Kelsey to Staunton that thefts by the Indians formed the basis of the charges. On June 14, 1719, the Company wrote a private letter to Kelsey as follows:

“Wee Cannot but Acquaint you what Accusations have been Laid Before us Concerning yr Conduct which wee hope you will Clear Your Self of and that you may be the better able to do it have Inclos’d Sent you a Copy thereof, that You may Know Both your Accusers, and what is charg’d against You to which we desire your Answer to Every Particul^r being very Unwilling to think that a Person wee had so Good an Opinion of as yourself should forfeit their Estimes who are Your Loving Friends”³

Though the “Accusations” against Kelsey must have been forwarded to London not later than 1718, he remained at Hudson Bay for four years during which he was Governor at York Fort and first in command of all the posts on the Bay. For the present, at least, the nature of the charges can only be surmised. In the York Fort *Factory Journal* (15. A. 3) for February 1, 1719, is the copy of a letter from Kelsey to Staunton, then at

¹ *Minute Book*, May 4, 1714.

² Kelsey’s Commission as Deputy Governor at York Fort is in *Letter Book* 603, p. 250.

³ *Letter Book* 604, p. 59.

Churchill, referring to Captain Knight's voyage of discovery that was to end in disaster at Marble Island. "Be sure you follow ye Compies Order in that affair," writes Kelsey, "for I am very sure they have done me all the prejudice lies in their Power by fals asspersions concerning ye Indians and had it not bin for ym it would been very hard wth us this winter for they have killed near 100 Deer in one Paragraph of my accusations you are brought in as a Wittness by Capt Knight about you telling him of seeing the Indians in Capt Baylies time carry several Bundles out of the Trading Roome in the Night but I looke on this and the rest as the efects of their Mallice to turn me out of my Employ for no other reason then their being afraid of being out done but be it as it will it shall not lessen my endeavours nor I hope yours of doing what wee can to promote their Trade and Intrest during our Servitude in this Countrey."

A year later Kelsey wrote to Staunton: "I doe asure you that I am noways offended wth you about what I writ concerning Cap Knight but you may believe it is a great Dolor to be represented so Odiously to Our Masters and tuched in ye most Sensable part yt is a mans reputation wch is more Valuable yn Life itselke for wch reason it ought to be very Cautiously Handled And if it please God I live to see ym shall Endeavour to make ym prove their Asertions."¹

During this entire period Kelsey's dominant interest in the cause of "discovery to ye Norward" is to be traced in many ways. A short voyage in the summer of 1719 had promising results. "I saw many Esquemoes," wrote Kelsey, "and gott some whalebone Oyle and Some Sea Horse teeth and changed two of ye Compies Slaves² for two of those Countrey Ladds and they are very agreeable and learn English apace by wch I hope to know wt ye Countrey will afford."³ Next year (June 1, 1720) the Company wrote to Kelsey as follows:

"Wee also Order you to send us Coppies of all those Journals that have been Kept by yourself & others, & what

¹ York Fort *Journal*, 15. A. 3, April 12, 1720.

² "Two Slave Boys," in the York Fort *Council Book*, 15. A. 3, June 10. 1719.

³ York Fort *Council Book*, 15. A. 3., Kelsey to Maclish, Jan. 18, 1720.

discoveries have been made in yr voyages to ye Northward, also what Numbers of People & what sort you have met wth, & what Quantity of Whales have been seen . . . likewise from whence ye flood Comes, & from what point of ye Compass, & how Much ye Tides have flow'd up and downe." ¹

This was followed by more stringent instructions in the following year. On May 26, 1721, the Governor and Committee wrote, evidently with some concern, of Kelsey's "designe of Wintering to the Northward." "Wee desier," they added, "to know whether you meane at Churchill River, for wee cannot Approve of your Wintering further Northward to the Hazard of yr Life and those with you wee Aprehending if you goe anytime in June you may make as much discovery both of whales & other Comodities as if you Wintered to ye Northward & Returned by the Latter End of August And hope you may give us better Incouragement as to discovering A Trade Either be getting of Copper or any other Vallueable Comodity then wey have hitherto met with." ²

When Kelsey was finally summoned home in 1722, therefore, it is hard to say whether the old charges about the Indians or the growing expenses from these years of fruitless "discovery to ye Norward" were uppermost in the minds of the Committee. Their letter to Kelsey (May 24, 1722) was as follows:

"Capt Kelsey, you having now been 8 years in our Service, 4 of which you were Dept Govr and 4 years Governor, at York Fort, Wee think it Convenient to Call you home & accordingly Expect you by ye Return of ye Mary Friggt Capt Jas Belcher Commandg. having appointed Mr Thos Maclish in your Stead, to whom you are to deliver possession of our Fort & Country, as soon as he shall arrive on Shoar, & Wee have order'd Mr Maclish, to Show you all possible Respect, untill ye Departure of our Ship for England." ³

From an entry in the *Minute Book* (October 31, 1722) it is clear that Kelsey was "Welcomed by the Committee on his

¹ *Letter Book* 604.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

return home." The old charges against him were never revived, or, if revived, were never proved. In the *Minute Book* of the following year (January 23, 1723) appears the following entry:

"This Comittee Takeing into Consideration the Skins Caught & Brought Home by Capt. Henry Kelsey & which were sold at the Comps Sale did Resolve to allow him the full Produce of his sd Skins amo to £22.13.2. The sd Capt Kelsey haveing served The Compa in Hudsons Bay as Govr & Deputy Govr for Eight Yeares Sucessively Last past which sum yr Secr is ordered to pay him."

In the following year, 1724, Kelsey himself appears for the last time. On January 29, 1724, the *Minute Book* records that "The Severall Petitions of Capt. Henry Kelsey & Capt Geo Keneday were deld in Desireing to be Comanders of ye Comps Shipp Hannah in ye Rome of Capt. Gaston Decd The Secr is ordered to Lay them by, the Comittee Intending to appoint A day to Consider of that Matter." On February 12, 1724, the Committee "resolved not to send the Hannah to Hudsons Bay this year."

It remains to record two brief entries which tell their own poignant story. Under date of January 28, 1730, appears the following note in the *Minute Book*:

"Eliz Kelsey Widow of Capt Heny Kelsey late Governor for the Compa at York Fort in Hudsons Bay having Petitioned the Comittee to Allow her something towards puting out her son apprentice; The Comittee takeing into consideration the former Service of her Husband the said Heny: Kelsey Ordered that the Secr do pay her ten Guineas as a Gratuity from the Compa for that purpose, £10.10.0".

And finally, on February 20, 1734, ten years after Kelsey had applied for the command of the *Hannah*, his name appears for the last time, it would seem, in the records of the Company: "Eliz. Kelsey Widow of Heny Kelsey formerly Govr for the Compa at York Fort in H. Bay haveing petitiond the Comittee to give her Something to buy her son John Kelsey Cloths She being wholly incapable to do it herself this Comittee considering the former Service of his Father the sd

Henry Kelsey Ordered the sum of £6.6.0 to be laid out for cloths for him & that ye Secr see the same laid out." ¹

Kelsey's death must have taken place between February, 1724, and January, 1730. The fact that his widow was constrained to ask of the Company "Something to buy her son John Kelsey Cloths She being wholly incapable to do it herself" is an apt commentary upon the vicissitudes of adventure and discovery in the fur trade.

(e) *Kelsey's Route in 1691*

The most interesting problem, perhaps, in *The Kelsey Papers* must be left, in the last resort, to the topographer with intimate first-hand knowledge of the northland. What was Kelsey's route in the journeys of 1690-1? How far south and west did he travel in his quest for the "Naywatamee Poets"? And, finally, where was Deering's Point,

"Distance from hence by Judgement at ye lest
From ye house six hundred miles southwest
Through Rivers wch run strong with falls
thirty three Carriages five lakes in all"?

x

Kelsey left York Fort on "ye twealth of June," 1690, and "took possession on ye tenth Instant July" of Deering's Point "on ye borders of ye stone Indian Country." Already, he notes, "the ground begins for to be dry with wood Poplo and birch with ash thats very good." Farther on there are "small nutts wth little cherries . . . till you leave ye woods behind," and find the "Buffillo great." A year later in the same region he notes "great store of Beast," where the Indians made "a great feast telling yt they were very glad yt I was returned according to my promise." ²

The *Journal* of this second voyage over the prairie (1691), unhampered by metre or rhyme, is more explicit. Kelsey's purpose, however, was not primarily to chart the country but to

¹ *Minute Book*. In an *Apprentice Book*, Inland I, Vol. 12, p. 171, Public Record Office, appears the following: [1731] June ye 16th [No.] 11 [Masters Names Place of Abode Trade] Thos: Fanner of Selbourn Southton Cordwainer [Apps. Names & Fathers & Abode] Will: Son of Eliz: Kelsey [Date of Inst.] 1 May [Memoriall of Articles & Indrs:] (Common Indenture & Count. pt.) Do. [Term of years] 8 ys fr Date 7.-.-. -.3.6.

² *Journal*, July 30.

bring the Indians "to a Commerce" at the Bay. The interminable pages of nautical observations in the *Journals* of 1698 prove alike Kelsey's seamanship and his skill with compass and chart; but in 1691 he is still a very "young Man." Three years before he had been "the boy *Henry Kelsey*." The absence of topographical detail, therefore, is easily understood. He had set forth for his "masters interest"—

"for to understand

The natives language & to see their land."

It is necessary, therefore, at the outset to stress three facts all of which are of prime importance in interpreting the evidence of Kelsey's *Journal* of 1691. (*a*) He left York Fort on June 12, 1690, and reached Deering's Point on July 10. For this, the first voyage of a white man by the waterways from the Bay to the Saskatchewan, Kelsey kept no journal, and the only record is the meagre rhymed introduction for the *Journal* of the following year. (*b*) After his arrival at Deering's Point in July, 1690, he followed the Indians to the plains for the winter and returned to Deering's Point in July of 1691, to meet the Indians returning from the Bay. For this, too, the first journey of a white man upon the Canadian prairies, Kelsey kept no journal, and the only record is the same rhymed introduction, together with a few fragments of internal evidence from the *Journal* of July 15—September 12, 1691. Thus the Indians on the plains, he notes on July 30, 1691, were "glad yt I was returned according to my promise." His first reference to the buffalo, too, for 1691 is the casual note (August 19) of "ye Indians having seen great store of Buffillo But kill'd none." He was evidently familiar with the buffalo from his previous visit, and his description of both the grizzly bear and the buffalo on the following day (August 20) has all the casualness of previous knowledge. These details are almost the only evidence we have to confirm the rhymed introduction and Governor Geyer's correspondence, that a white man had found his way to the Canadian prairies in 1690. (*c*) In the third place, the *Journal* of 1691, here published in full for the first time, is after all but the third stage of Kelsey's memorable expedition to the prairies. Returning to Deering's Point in

the summer of 1691, he had "Receivd those things in full wch ye Governour sent me," no doubt by the Indians returning from their annual journey to York Fort; and it was in order to follow these "Stone Indians wch were gone ten days" before him up the Saskatchewan that he began the journey with which his *Journal* opens—"taketh my depart from Deering's Point" on July 15, 1691.

Without forecasting at this juncture the location of Deering's Point, the subsequent journey may briefly be outlined from Kelsey's narrative in order to supply the necessary context. The third day after leaving Deering's Point, they decided (writes Kelsey) to "lay up our Cannoes" upon a "small arm of ye River"—a "Stream Running very strong"—and to "set forward into the woods." They travelled six days—nearly a hundred miles—before they had "very good going." That evening they overtook the Stone Indians—seven tents—who had left Deering's Point ten days before them. Three weeks from Deering's Point came messengers from "some stone Indians . . . to ye Southward of us." His rendezvous two days later is "at a place called Waskashreeseabee," a shallow stream "not a hundred yards over" which "breants [branches?] away much to ye Southward & runneth through great part of the Cuntry & is fed by a lake wch feedeth another River wch runneth down to ye Southward of us . . . Now ye water wch runneth down this River is of a Blood red Colour by ye description of those Indians wch hath seen it." For 25 miles they took their "Course along the Riverside it Running or lying up between ye South South west but unnavigable for either boat or Cannoe." In several places Kelsey "Saw slate mines along the side of this River." Here it was that the Indians, for the first time, "kill'd great store of Beast," leaving "the women to fetch home ye meat & Dress it ye Indians Likewise feasting & making of feasts all ye day." Seven weeks after leaving Deering's Point, the Stone and "Nayhaythaway" Indians came in touch with their enemies who "knew not ye use of Cannoes." The final powwow with the "Nawatamee" chief took place two weeks after crossing a great plain of 46 miles. In all Kelsey had travelled from Deering's Point for 59 days—an estimated distance of 585 miles. Passing the winter, no doubt, with the

Stone Indians, Kelsey, for the third time, "was at Deerings point in the spring," whence, as we have seen, he went "down with a good Fleet of Indians," to York Fort, and returned to England with the Hudson's Bay ships in the autumn.

It is clear that the vital factor for the geographer must be the location of Deering's Point. With the appearance of traders—French, and, after 1763, British—from Canada, the whole routine of the Hudson's Bay fur trade is revolutionized, and the historical data of that time with regard to Indian routes to the Bay would be of little value here. Fortunately, however, there is earlier evidence which is not only very nearly contemporary with Kelsey, but fairly conclusive, it would seem, with regard to the Indian routes to the Bay.

Deering's Point is called by Kelsey "ye place of resortance when they are coming down to trade." Arthur Dobbs is at pains to quote from La Potherie,¹ and from the account of Jérémie who was stationed at Ste. Theresa (York Fort) during the French occupation after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, being Governor there in 1713 when it was given up again to the British after the Treaty of Utrecht.² According to La Potherie, "these Nations, who come from a great Distance, assemble in *May* at a great Lake, sometimes 12 or 1500 together, to begin their Voyage . . . in which Time they make their Canoes, which are of Birch Bark . . . There comes down generally to Port *Nelson* 1000 Men, some Women, and about 600 Canoes." The Nelson (Bourbon), he adds, "takes its Source from a great Lake called Michinipi." ³ According to Jérémie, the Nelson "by which the Natives come down to trade" is of "so great Extent, that it passes thro' many great Lakes," the greatest of which "they call *Michinipi*, or the *Great Water*, because in Effect it is the greatest and the deepest Lake, being 600 Leagues in Circumference . . . About this Lake . . . are great Numbers of Indians, who call themselves Assinibouels." ⁴ Again, the great lake from which the "River Bourbon" (Nelson) flows is "called, the *Junction of the two Seas*, because the Land almost

¹ *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1722, 4 Vols.

² Bernard, *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1724.

³ Dobbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 23.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 20.

meets in the middle of the Lake. The East Side of this Lake is a Country full of thick Forests, in which are great Numbers of Beaver and Elks. Here begins the Country of the *Christinaux* The West Side is full of fine Meadows, filled with wild Oxen; the Assinibouels live here."

✕ It is reasonable to suppose that the "Michinipi" of both La Potherie and Jérémie is Lake Winnipeg, and that during the period of French occupation, less than ten years after Kelsey had gone inland from York Fort with the Stone Indians, they were following regularly the Nelson route (either down the Nelson to its mouth or across from Split Lake to Fox River and the Hayes) gathering each year in May at some "great Lake" for the purpose of making their canoes. Here, adds Jérémie, "Joy, Pleasure, and good Cheer reigns."

This account is curiously confirmed in great detail by the next available evidence after Kelsey's day—the story of Joseph La France, a French Indian who travelled in 1739-42 from the Great Lakes to Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay. Dobbs claims to have taken down La France's account "Word for Word"¹; and beyond a doubt his description of Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, the Winnipeg River, and "the great *Ouinipique* Lake," is a marvel of accuracy for such a time. "Upon the West Side of Lake Ouinipique," said La France, "are the Nation of the *Assinibouels* of the Meadows." After a winter of land travel, "in which Time he passed Northwards near 100 Leagues," he found himself (March, 1742) at Lake Cariboux which descends through marshes into Lake Pachegoia,² which is "the Lake where all the *Indians* assemble in the latter End of *March* every Year, to cut the Birch Trees and make their Canoes of the Bark in order to pass down the River to *York* Fort on *Nelson* River with their Furs; it is divided ³ so as to make almost two Lakes; the West Side by which he pass'd was about 100 Leagues in Circuit; the other Side or Eastern Lake was much larger, as the *Indians* informed him.

¹ *Report*, 1749, p. 228.

² Moose Lake, north of the Saskatchewan, and Cedar Lake?

³ It would seem that Dobbs, in taking down La France's narrative, has confused Lake Pachegoia (Cedar Lake?) with Lake Winnipeg, the west side of which from the mouth of the Saskatchewan (La France's "*River De vieux Hommes*"?) to the outlet of the Lake by the Nelson River is here so clearly described by La France.

The River *De vieux Hommes* runs from the West for about 200 Leagues, and falls into this Lake it has a strong Current, and is always muddy They were three Weeks in passing along the West Side of the Lake before they came to the Place it is discharged by the River *Savanne* or *Epinette* The River was small where it came out of the Lake, for about six Leagues, it spreading through several little Passages through the Marshes, but farther down, when collected together, formed a large River." "The Banks were low, until they got to the great Fork, where the River is divided by a Rock, upon which a convenient Fort might be built, which might be cut off by bringing the Water around it." From "the Great Fork" La France descended by "the East Branch it being the shortest Passage; at the same time another Fleet of 100 Canoes went down the Western Branch." In this at least it is easy to recognize the Nelson and Hayes River routes to York Factory.¹

Such are a few of the historical details which the topographer must now reconcile in tracing the overland journeys of Henry Kelsey.²

¹ Dobbs *op. cit.*, pp. 29-45. La France's narrative is reprinted in *Report*, 1749, pp. 243-8.

² Since this was written, the above Introduction was presented in part (sections (b), (c), and (e)), together with an outline of this edition of *The Kelsey Papers*, at the opening annual meeting of the Manitoba Historical Society on February 14, 1928. Since that time Dr. C. N. Bell has prepared a paper, dealing chiefly with Kelsey's route in 1690-2, for the joint meeting of the Canadian Historical Association and the Manitoba Historical Society on May 24, 1928. This paper has since been published under the title *The Journal of Henry Kelsey, 1691-1692*, (Dawson Richardson Publications, Limited, Winnipeg) with valuable maps from Dr. Bell's own collection.

Dr. Bell's chief conclusions are (a) that the "Lake Cariboux" and "Lake Pachegoia" of La France are Moose Lake and Cedar Lake respectively (p. 12); (b) that Deering's Point must therefore be on Cedar Lake (p. 14); (c) that Kelsey paddled from Deering's Point up the Saskatchewan to the mouth of the Carrot River, and up the Carrot River for 28 miles before striking inland on July 18, 1691 (p. 21); (d) that the "Waskashree-seebee" (almost the only name mentioned by Kelsey) reached on August 1 was the Red Deer River of eastern Saskatchewan and western Manitoba, flowing into Lake Winnipegosis (p. 31); and (e) that Kelsey's route between Deering's Point and York Fort was by way of Moose Lake (the route of Hendry in 1754 and of Cocking in 1772) instead of the Saskatchewan to Lake Winnipeg and the Nelson as indicated so clearly from the narrative of La France.

With regard to the last, it seems remarkable that there should be no mention of the Moose Lake route for 64 years after Kelsey's journey, while the direct evidence of both Jérémie and La France seems so conclusive with regard to the other. La France indeed stated that Moose Lake (if this is "Lake Cariboux") runs northward "and then it spreads, and is wasted in a marshy Country, where there is no passing by Water, nor by Land in Summer." Hendry's purpose, 64 years after Kelsey's journey, and Cocking's also in 1772, was, of course, not only to bring the Indians to the Bay but to get them there by a route free from the French and Canadian posts on the Saskatchewan.

It is more difficult to reconcile Kelsey's departure for the prairie 28 miles up the Carrot River with the location of Deering's Point at Cedar Lake. In the *Journal* Kelsey estimates the distances travelled from Deering's Point as 18 miles the first day (July 15), 25 miles the next, 20 on July 17, and 8 on July 18—71 miles in all. If 28 of these were up the Carrot River, the distance from Cedar Lake to the mouth of the Carrot River would be only 43 miles by the winding Saskatchewan, whereas it would appear to be at least 50 miles as the crow flies. Hendry, who reached the Saskatchewan in 1754 from Moose Lake at a point almost half way from Cedar Lake to the Carrot River, estimated his distance to Carrot River, as 8, 14, 6, and 16 miles—44 miles in all. The total distance from Cedar Lake to the mouth of the Carrot River is estimated by Mr. Douglas, Secretary of the Geographic Board of Canada, at 71 miles.

Mr. Hugh Conn of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose first-hand knowledge of the northland is intimate and precise, has long held that Deering's Point was at the Pas, the only high and safe ground on the Saskatchewan in this neighbourhood. This too, however, is based upon the later data of the Moose Lake route rather than the more clearly contemporary evidence of Jérémie and La France.

Where geographers differ so widely no positive conclusion is, perhaps, possible. Will there ever be convincing direct evidence bearing upon Kelsey's route? When he left the stream on July 18, 1691, he took "ye Rundlett wch ye Governor had sent me full of powder & emptied part of it into a leather Bagg so I put one hatchet 2 fathom of Black Tobacco 6 Knives 2 Skains of twine two nettlines one tin show [*sic*] & other small moveables into ye rundlett & headed it up again so we made a hole in the ground & put that & other things into it . . . so made of it our storehouse untill we came yt way ye next spring." Next morning Kelsey "set forward into the woods." There is every likelihood that Kelsey came back during "ye next spring," for his "Rundlett," and for his canoe if nothing else; though abandoned canoes must have been no uncommon sight at this time on the Saskatchewan or Carrot Rivers. With birch bark, cedar, and watape one of these light canoes could be built in two or three days. But the "Rundlett" may never have been reclaimed. Will Kelsey's hatchet, 6 knives "and other small moveables" ever be found, like the La Vérendrye lead plate on the banks of the Missouri, to confirm or confound the theories of geographers and historians?



NOTE

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LA COLLECTION KELSEY

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AVEC INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

(a) *La collection Kelsey*

En 1926, le major A. F. Dobbs de Castle Dobbs, Carrickfergus, offrit certains documents au Public Record Office de l'Irlande du Nord. Ils avaient été colligés par Arthur Dobbs, auteur et homme d'Etat qui s'intéressa de diverses façons aux affaires coloniales du XVIII^e siècle et exerça sur elles une influence considérable puisqu'il fut gouverneur de la Caroline du Nord depuis 1754 jusqu'à sa mort en 1765. En outre, il se fit remarquer comme critique de l'administration de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson.

La collection Dobbs renfermait les *Papiers de Kelsey* maintenant classés à Belfast au Public Record Office de l'Irlande du Nord sous la rubrique D.O.D. N^o 162 et publiés conjointement par le Public Record Office de l'Irlande du Nord et les Archives fédérales du Canada. Ces papiers—journaux, lettres et mémoires—sont, semble-t-il, de la main d'Henry Kelsey lui-même. Toutefois la confrontation de ces manuscrits avec sa signature qui termine certaines lettres conservées au poste de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson ne tranche pas cette difficulté. Le texte de la présente publication fut transcrit de l'original sous la direction du Dr James F. Kenney des Archives fédérales du Canada; c'est lui qui a également surveillé l'impression du volume.

Les Papiers de Kelsey forment un volume de 128 pages avec couverture en papier grossier qui constitue probablement la reliure initiale. Au haut de la première page, on peut lire, écrit de la même main que ce qui suit, ce titre: "Henry Kelsey son livre cadeau de James Hubbud l'an de Notre Seigneur 1693." En cette année, Kelsey se trouvait en Angleterre: il était revenu de la baie d'Hudson en 1692. Nous ne savons qui était ce James Hubbud.¹ Par ce titre, Kelsey a voulu,

¹ Un certain Isaac Hubbud fut en 1689 attaché au service de la compagnie à la baie d'Hudson. Voir au bas de la p. 31.

semble-t-il, rappeler qu'un ami lui fit cadeau d'un cahier d'écriture renfermant des pages blanches. Il est évident que la plus grande partie des textes qui suivent sont des transcriptions; il est permis de conclure que Kelsey les copia pour son usage personnel et qu'ensuite les originaux furent déposés aux archives de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson. Dans l'ordre chronologique, le *Journal* de Churchill de 1689 constitue le premier document, mais c'est l'introduction en vers au *Journal* de 1691 qui ouvre le volume.

On ne sait comment les *Papiers de Kelsey* tombèrent entre les mains d'Arthur Dobbs et toute conjecture à ce sujet serait sans doute téméraire. Le dernier paragraphe inscrit dans le volume date de 1722 et les difficultés de Dobbs avec la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson ne commencèrent qu'après la mort de Kelsey. Les lignes de la main de Dobbs ne contiennent que des renseignements fragmentaires qui jettent peu de lumière sur la question. Dans son livre rédigé en 1744 et intitulé *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, il n'est pas fait mention de Kelsey; on est donc en droit de conclure, semble-t-il, qu'à ce moment Dobbs ignorait l'existence des papiers de Kelsey. D'autre part, non seulement avait-il entendu parler du voyageur en 1749, mais encore était-il prêt à contester l'authenticité de l'état de comptes que la compagnie avait présenté au comité de la Chambre de l'époque. La collection Dobbs renferme un manuscrit intitulé *Commentary on the Case of the Hudson's Bay Company as presented to the Committee of 1749*. Écrit de la main de Dobbs, il précède immédiatement le mémoire de Robson: *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay, 1752*, Appendice I; il semble donc que ces deux documents ont eu une commune origine. Il se peut également que les commentaires de Dobbs soient des explications du texte de Robson rédigées entre 1752, année de la publication du livre de Robson, et 1754 au moment où il s'embarqua pour la Caroline du Nord. Cependant certaines pages du volume réduisent à néant cette hypothèse puisqu'on découvre dans l'*Appendice* de Robson les indices d'un haut talent littéraire. Toutefois tous deux affirment la véracité de faits dont le récit fut imprimé pour la première fois dans le livre de Robson et servit de prétexte comme nous le consta-

terons bientôt, à une légende de Kelsey qui s'est perpétuée avec quelques variantes pendant près de 200 ans. Après avoir déclaré qu'il était faux que la compagnie eut, comme elle le prétendait, envoyé Kelsey dans les prairies pour y faire des découvertes, Dobbs affirmait "que Geyer (le gouverneur du fort York) ne l'y avait pas envoyé, mais que voulant le punir de certains enfantillages, il avait donné l'ordre de le réprimander sévèrement. Mais comme ce dernier était tenu en très haute estime par les sauvages qu'il connaissait très bien, il saisit l'occasion de s'enfuir avec eux. Et après avoir constaté que la compagnie désirait envoyer quelqu'un en découverte, Geyer aurait alors fait une bonne action de cette fuite en disant que lui-même l'avait envoyé en découverte." Robson prétend que pendant son séjour de six ans à la baie d'Hudson, on lui raconta cette histoire qu'il importe maintenant d'analyser. On admettra qu'un examen consciencieux des *Papiers de Kelsey* et des commentaires que Dodds a dû ajouter de bonne foi eût sans doute fait justice de cette assertion. Il accuse Geyer de "ne s'être pas conformé aux instructions antérieures" de 1688 enjoignant le départ de Kelsey pour le fort Churchill "qui n'eut pas lieu, ajoute-t-il, sans qu'on ait tenté d'excuser cette négligence." Les *Papiers de Kelsey* prouvent qu'on suivit ces instructions et que, en outre, Kelsey se rendit à Churchill et rédigea lui-même un journal circonstancié du voyage. La seule conclusion que l'on pourrait peut-être tirer de cet examen, c'est que les *Papiers de Kelsey* ne tombèrent dans la possession de Dobbs que lorsqu'il cessa de lancer contre la compagnie des critiques très acerbes. Contribuèrent-elles, d'une façon quelconque, à amener ce résultat?

(b) *La légende de Kelsey*

L'histoire véritable d'Henry Kelsey supplante une légende acceptée des historiens pendant près de deux cents ans; c'est là un curieux cas d'inexactitude et de la persistance de préjugés.

Depuis la parution de *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay* de Robson,¹ on accueillit avec scepticisme la prétention de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson d'avoir envoyé

¹ Joseph Robson, Londres, 1752.

Kelsey à "l'intérieur du pays" en lui commandant de faire un voyage que celui-ci aurait "entrepris de grand cœur." Une légende s'accrédita que Kelsey n'était qu'un "adolescent" qui se serait enfui du fort York, à l'embouchure de la rivière Nelson, pour échapper à la discipline sévère du gouverneur Geyer; plus tard, la compagnie "aurait transformé cette fuite en une action élogieuse" en fabriquant les textes tronqués du *Journal* afin de voiler sa négligence à explorer les vastes régions qu'elle réclamait en vertu de sa charte. "Plusieurs circonstances mentionnées dans le *Journal*," écrit Robson, "m'amènèrent à croire que Kelsey n'en est pas plus l'auteur que je ne le suis moi-même."¹ Tant au point de vue du roman que de l'histoire objective, la naïveté populaire embellit cette légende à partir de ce moment. Grâce aux *Papiers de Kelsey* nous connaissons désormais la vérité sur ses voyages de 1690-92 et nous avons, en outre, une analyse parfois très circonstanciée de ses faits et gestes depuis son entrée au service de la compagnie, en 1684, jusqu'en 1722, quatre ans après sa nomination comme gouverneur du fort York.

Nous lisons pour la première fois le nom d'Henry Kelsey² dans le *Rapport* du Comité de la Chambre britannique (24 avril 1749) "nommé pour enquêter sur l'état et les conditions des régions avoisinant la baie d'Hudson."³ Cette enquête fut la résultante de l'une des plus vives attaques qui aient été déclenchées contre la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson au sujet de la validité de sa charte. Après avoir agité la question pendant quatorze ans, on fit, en 1746-7, une souscription publique qui permit au *Dobbs-Galley* et au *California* de faire un voyage pour découvrir le passage du Nord-Ouest. L'animateur de cette entreprise fut sans doute Arthur Dobbs dont la bibliothèque de Castle Dobbs, à Carrickfergus, renfermait les *Papiers de Kelsey*: son livre *An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay*, publié en 1744, indique clairement ses motifs.

¹ Id., p. 73.

² Les journaux, lettres, etc. de la collection Kelsey portent toujours la signature "Kelsey". Le *Journal du Rapport* de 1849 est attribué à "Henry Kelsey"; dans son *The Search for the Western Sea*, pp. 96-113, Burpee a conservé cette orthographe. Les lettres—il y en a au moins huit reproduites aux pages 254, 274 et 275 du *Rapport*—sont toujours signées ainsi: Kelsey. Ce mot est orthographié de la même façon dans les propres lettres de Kelsey adressées au poste de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson.

³ *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons* Vol. II (1803), pp. 213-286.

Un autre promoteur de l'affaire fut Henry Ellis, plus tard gouverneur de la Géorgie, l'ami de William Knox qui était le confident de Grenville et de lord North et qui devint gouverneur de la Nouvelle-Ecosse (1761-63) après la mort de Lawrence. Le livre d'Ellis *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*¹ publié en 1748 et les deux volumes de William Drage, *commissaire de California*,² imprimés en 1749,² révèlent l'intérêt que le public prit à cette affaire, ainsi que les mobiles plutôt égoïstes des accusations que Dobbs et consorts avaient portées contre la compagnie. En 1748, on déposa entre les mains des conseillers juridiques de la Couronne et sur le bureau d'un comité de la Chambre, une pétition qui portait sur "les privilèges et prérogatives accordés à ladite compagnie"; la principale accusation lancée contre la compagnie était "qu'elle n'avait pas découvert ni fait des tentatives suffisantes pour découvrir le passage du Nord-Ouest donnant accès à la mer du Sud."³ La défense exhiba alors ce qui était censément le "Journal d'un voyage et d'une excursion entrepris par *Henry Kelsey* afin de découvrir les *Naywatamee Poets*—et s'efforcer d'établir un commerce avec eux, 1691."⁴

Ce *Journal* s'appuyait sur des preuves indirectes, puisque dans le *Rapport* (Appendice N° XXVII), il était précédé d'extraits de lettres échangées entre la compagnie et les divers gouverneurs de la baie depuis le 9 mai 1676 au 4 juin 1719.⁵ Dès 1683, le gouverneur Sargeant recevait l'ordre de "choisir parmi nos employés ceux qui sont le mieux qualifiés, tant au point de vue de la force physique que de la connaissance de l'idiome des indigènes, pour voyager et aller à l'intérieur du pays." "Pour les encourager, nous les récompenserons généreusement." Toutefois rien ne put les induire à s'éloigner de la baie. En 1685, Sargeant fit savoir que ni les quatre hommes spécialement désignés à cette fin "ni qui que ce soit de la com-

¹ Ellis prit part à l'expédition "en sa qualité d'agent pour le comité", *Voyage*, p. 104.

² *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, 2 Vol., Londres, 1748.

³ Rapport de 1749, p. 285.

⁴ Id., p. 276. Le mot "poets" semble avoir été un suffixe que les Anglais de la baie d'Hudson ajoutaient aux noms de plusieurs tribus sauvages. Kelsey mentionne les "Naywatame Poets" et les "Mountain Poets"; dans les documents de la compagnie, on trouve également les mots "Assinae Poets" et "Kanebickapoets." Cf. Gideon D. Saill *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*. (Boston: The Prince Society, 1885), p. 345.

⁵ Id., p. 273-6.

pagnie ne consentait à pénétrer dans le pays." Finalement, en juin 1688, la compagnie ordonna au gouverneur Geyer d'envoyer "le jeune *Henry Kelsey* . . . à la rivière Churchill avec *Thomas Savage*, parce que nous avons appris que c'est un jeune homme entreprenant qui raffole de la compagnie des sauvages et qui est au comble de ses vœux quand il voyage avec eux." Comment ce "jeune homme entreprenant" attirait-il pour la première fois l'attention de la compagnie? Qui était ce Thomas Savage? Kelsey fut-il envoyé à Churchill? Comment fut-il amené à entreprendre son voyage dans les prairies à la recherche des "Naywatamee Poets"? Comme nous pourrons le constater plus loin, les *Papiers de Kelsey* offrent enfin une solution à ces problèmes.

Mais le *Journal* soulevait plusieurs autres points controversables et comme les ennemis de la compagnie purent les exploiter sans encourir de châtiment, l'opinion, de prime abord, conclut à la culpabilité de la compagnie. Le titre du *Journal* est publié en triplicata et le texte en double dans le rapport de 1749. Le premier titre dans la *List of Appendix* (p. 236) et dans le texte (N° XXVII, p. 273) fut sans doute rédigé avec l'intention de confirmer toutes les preuves que la compagnie avait fait valoir au sujet de Kelsey. Ce titre est ainsi conçu: "Journal de Henry Kelsey dans les années 1691 et 1692, envoyé par la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson pour faire des découvertes et développer leur commerce intérieur en s'éloignant de la baie." Le N° XXVIII en date du "5 juillet" porte le titre suivant: "Journal d'un voyage et d'une excursion entrepris par Henry Kelsey afin de découvrir les Naywatamee Poets et s'efforcer d'établir un commerce avec eux, 1691." Dans l'appendice, on trouve sous la même rubrique un "double" en date du "15 juillet 1692"; c'est manifestement le même journal avec des variantes insignifiantes dans le titre et le texte. Le premier journal se termine ainsi: "Je demeure, monsieur, votre très obéissant et très fidèle serviteur, Henry Kellsey"; le second: "Je demeure, honorables maîtres, votre très obéissant et très fidèle serviteur, Henry Kellsey." Présument que la compagnie et non pas l'imprimeur était l'auteur de cette variante, Robson insinua ingénieusement qu'on avait tenté

de faire croire que cette documentation comportait “deux journaux”: l’un rédigé en 1691 conformément à l’ordre du gouverneur; l’autre, en 1692, pour se rendre au désir de la compagnie”.¹

Il convient de remarquer que, à notre connaissance, ni Arthur Dobbs, dont la bibliothèque de Carrickfergus renfermait les *Papiers de Kelsey*, ni Ellis ni Drage n’écrivirent quoi que ce soit contre le *Journal* de Kelsey, quoique, dans son commentaire déjà mentionné, Dobbs se montre aussi sceptique que Robson au sujet de l’authenticité du manuscrit. On doit également observer que Dodds ne fait aucune remarque sur Kelsey lorsqu’il comparut devant le Comité de la Chambre (p. 228). Toutefois en 1752, Joseph Robson, autre témoin dans l’affaire de 1749, contesta, dans son *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson’s Bay*, non seulement l’authenticité du *Journal* de Kelsey, mais l’honnêteté de la correspondance de la compagnie. Robson était maçon: il construisit une bonne partie du Fort Prince of Wales à Churchill. Dans ses lettres, il se donnait le titre de “ex-arpenteur et inspecteur des bâtiments de la compagnie de la baie d’Hudson”. On ne peut guère comprendre pourquoi Umfreville déclare, dans un livre publié en 1790, que cet homme était “un écrivain impartial, véridique et sincère”.² Tous deux cependant avaient eu des difficultés avec la compagnie. A la vérité, Robson, comme l’atteste le style mordant de son récit, avait pris en aversion les “principes des officiers de mer” alors en vogue à la baie d’Hudson; lui-même insinue que la compagnie l’invita à se rendre à la baie une deuxième fois (1744-47) “pour m’éloigner de M. Dobbs”.³

Robson prétend avoir entendu “les employés de la baie” lui raconter l’histoire suivante:

“Lorsqu’il était petit garçon, Henry Kelsey aimait beaucoup vivre avec les sauvages et apprendre leur idiome. Pour le punir d’agir ainsi et d’avoir joué quelques mauvais tours dont se rendent toujours coupables des enfants remuants, le gouverneur lui infligeait souvent des peines très sévères. L’en-

¹ Robson, op. cit., Appendice, p. 23.

² *The Present State of Hudson’s Bay*, par Edward Umfreville, Londres, 1790, p. 4.

³ Op. cit., p. 18.

fant ressentait vivement ces mauvais traitements. Etant devenu plus fort, au bout de quelques années, il profita d'une occasion et s'en alla avec quelques sauvages venus de loin dont il avait gagné l'affection pour les avoir connus depuis longtemps et leur avoir rendu quelques petits services.

"Un ou deux ans après cet incident, un sauvage remit au gouverneur un morceau plié d'écorce de bouleau sur lequel on avait écrit quelques mots avec du charbon; c'était une lettre d'Henry Kelsey. Il suppliait le gouverneur de pardonner son escapade et de lui permettre d'être accueilli avec bonté et encouragement. Par suite, il revint avec un parti de sauvages, habillé à leur manière et accompagné d'une épouse qui voulut le suivre au poste. Le gouverneur s'y opposa. Mais Kelsey lui dit en anglais qu'il n'entrerait pas si on ne permettait pas à sa femme de faire de même; comme le gouverneur le connaissait bien, il les laissa entrer tous deux. Kelsey raconta plusieurs épisodes de ses voyages. Un jour, les sauvages le laissèrent endormi et pendant son sommeil, le feu se communiqua aux mousses et brûla le manche de son mousquet. Il se fabriqua une nouvelle crosse avec son couteau. Une fois, deux ours gris tombèrent à l'improviste sur lui et un sauvage et tous deux eurent juste le temps de se réfugier, le sauvage dans un arbre, et lui parmi les saules élevés. Les ours s'étant approchés de l'arbre, Kelsey fit feu et en tua un; après avoir vu d'où venait ce coup, l'autre courut vers cet endroit, mais ne pouvant pas localiser sa proie, il revint à l'arbre qu'il venait à peine d'atteindre lorsqu'un second coup de feu de Kelsey l'étendit sur place. Cet exploit valut à Kelsey le surnom de *Miss-top-ashish* ou *petit géant*.

"On m'a dit que, après sa nomination au poste de gouverneur du fort York, Kelsey rédigea un dictionnaire de l'idiome des sauvages et que la compagnie donna l'ordre de détruire ce livre".¹

Il n'est pas nécessaire d'examiner pour le moment les critiques que, dans son rapport de 1749, Robson lança contre la correspondance et le *Journal* de Kelsey.² Il affirmait en ter-

¹ Id., p. 72.

² "Je ne crois pas que Kelsey en soit l'auteur pas plus que je ne crois l'être moi-même". Id., pp. 72-74 et l'Appendice, pp. 14-25.

minant que la prétention de Kelsey d'avoir suivi à travers les prairies, un parti de sauvages qui le précédaient de plusieurs jours de marche "suffisait à infirmer tout son témoignage" puisqu'il lui fallait "tenir compte, comme je le suppose, du nombre d'hommes, de leurs poids, de la grandeur de leurs pieds et de la direction de chaque pas".¹ Pour être juste, il faut dire que plusieurs embellissements furent ajoutés à la légende de Kelsey après que Robson eut écrit ses pages en 1752. Tels sont les ravages que causent les préjugés quand ils s'affranchissent des disciplines de la science historique.

(c) *La véritable histoire de Kelsey*

Les *Papiers de Kelsey* offrent pour la première fois aux historiens, un résumé assez complet des faits et gestes de Kelsey depuis 1683 à 1722. Nous pourrions peut-être soupçonner pourquoi ces écrits prennent fin en 1722.

Les onze journaux, les lettres, les mémoires, etc., de la collection traitent de sujets très divers et intéressants. Ils expliquent le choix que la compagnie fit de Kelsey, dès 1688, pour découvrir l'intérieur du pays. On a prétendu que le projet de cette époque relatif à Churchill ne fut jamais mis à exécution. Le journal de 1689 de Kelsey renferme un récit circonstancié de cette malheureuse entreprise; en outre, on y trouve au complet le journal de 1691 avec une introduction en vers que Kelsey composa lui-même; elle constitue peut-être le document le plus précieux de la collection puisqu'elle donne la situation approximative de la pointe Deering, point de départ des voyages de 1690 et de 1691, et prouve péremptoirement la fausseté des accusations de Robson qui contestait la bonne foi de la compagnie et les découvertes de Kelsey. La situation de la pointe Deering connue, on peut émettre des hypothèses plausibles sur les distances que Kelsey parcourut au cours de ses mémorables voyages ainsi que sur le voyage préliminaire de 1690 et le projet plus ambitieux de 1691. A moins que nous ne soyons dans l'erreur, les cinq pages couvertes de l'écriture serrée de Kelsey² et intitulées *Account of those Indians*

¹ "Je n'oserais m'engager dans un sentier qui ne fût battu". Id., p. 74.

² "Ayant été chez les Assiniboïnes récemment".

belief and Superstitions constituent le premier document sur la vie et les coutumes des sauvages de l'Ouest. Kelsey fut sûrement le premier blanc qui foula les prairies canadiennes et vit les sauvages de l'endroit chasser le bison.

Le *Journal* de 1694 où il est question de la reddition du fort York "à M. Diberveall" le 4 octobre et celui de 1696-97 qui traite de la deuxième capture du fort par d'Iberville, le 3 septembre 1697, présentent un vif intérêt aux historiens. Seize ans après la signature du traité de Ryswick, la compagnie cessa pratiquement d'être maîtresse de la baie. En ce qui concerne Kelsey, les notes autobiographiques qui terminent les *Papiers de Kelsey* et qui sont intitulées *Memorandum of my abode in Hudson's Bay from 1683 to 1722* expliqueront plusieurs problèmes curieux que soulèvent les variantes de la légende de Kelsey, tandis que d'autres difficultés attendent encore une solution et se confondent avec les énigmes de ces mémorables années.

Nous pouvons peut-être soupçonner pourquoi le *Mémoire* se termine le 16 août 1722. On doit affirmer, en dépit des données contraires d'une légende encore accréditée, que la décade qui suivit le traité d'Utrecht rétablissant l'autorité de la compagnie sur la baie constitua une période d'une grande activité. En 1719, le capitaine Knight partit avec le *Discovery* et l'*Albany* pour des régions septentrionales sans jamais en revenir. Près de 50 ans plus tard, un baleinier trouva des débris des vaisseaux naufragés sur les rochers désolés de l'île Marble; pendant des mois et des mois, au dire des Esquimaux, les survivants affolés par la faim et la solitude, défendirent leur vie contre les loups et le froid et, jour après jour, scrutèrent en vain l'horizon pour y découvrir une voile.¹ Le 1er juin 1720, la compagnie demanda par lettre à Kelsey, alors gouverneur du fort York "de nous envoyer les copies de tous les journaux que vous-même et d'autres personnes avez tenus et de nous exposer les découvertes que vous avez faites dans vos voyages vers le Nord".² Au même moment Kelsey soumettait

¹ Samuel Hearne *Journey from Prince of Wales in Hudson's Bay of the Northern Ocean*, 1769-1772, Londres, 1795.

² Rapport de 1749, p. 254.

à l'examen de la compagnie son *Design of Wintering to the Northward*. L'année suivante, une remarque dans son journal atteste qu'il "avait l'intention de pousser plus au nord pour localiser l'endroit où avait sombré la corvette *Albany* puisque nous avions vu des débris du vaisseau naufragé". Toutefois la compagnie s'opposa au projet de Kelsey désireux "d'hiverner plus au nord (que Churchill) en exposant votre vie et celle de vos hommes", mais elle fit partir la corvette *Whalebone* qui devait être "envoyée en découverte l'année suivante (1722), aussitôt que la température le permettrait" et qui reviendrait "vers le commencement de septembre".¹ Le dernier mémoire de Kelsey porte la date du 16 août 1722, au moment où le "*Whalebone* nous arriva de Churchill". Il est permis de croire qu'il existe une certaine connexion entre cette dernière date trouvée dans les *Papiers de Kelsey*, son dernier projet de découverte des régions septentrionales en 1722 et la demande de la compagnie "d'envoyer les copies de tous les journaux que vous avez tenus". Le *Journal* "en double" publié dans le *Rapport* de 1749 fut-il extrait des "copies" de 1722?

Mais nous voici arrivés au moment fertile en problèmes. Le *Journal* de 1691, que l'on trouve dans les *Papiers de Kelsey*, avec une introduction en vers au voyage de 1690 porte le titre suivant: *Henry Kelsey his book being ye gift of James Hubbud in the year of our Lord 1693*. Kelsey se trouvait alors en Angleterre.² Comment les *Papiers de Kelsey* tombèrent-ils entre les mains d'Arthur Dobbs? Qu'advint-il de Kelsey après 1722? Alors il avait certes dépassé la cinquantaine, mais le valeureux Knight avait plus de 70 ans lorsqu'il se mit à la tête de la malheureuse expédition qui se termina par le naufrage à l'île Marble. Les papiers conservés aux archives de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson donnent, comme nous le constaterons bientôt, une foule de renseignements qui complètent les bribes d'informations que nous possédions déjà sur les mouvements de Kelsey après 1720. On le rappela en 1722 sous le coup de certaines accusations qui, semble-t-il, n'eurent pas de suite. En 1724, il demanda qu'on lui confiât un autre vaisseau, mais celui qu'il désirait ne fut pas envoyé à la baie cette année-là. En

¹ Ibid.

² Voir plus loin à la page 112.

1730 Mme Kelsey était veuve et demandait une pension. On glane ces détails et plusieurs autres par la lecture des *Minute Books* et des *Letter Books* de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, livres que nous allons maintenant examiner minutieusement. Mais on ne connaîtra sans doute toute la vérité sur les dernières années de Kelsey que lorsque les documents précieux de la maison de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson auront été classés avec méthode et spécialement examinés à cette fin.

C'est par l'étude sérieuse des papiers de la *Collection Kelsey*, que l'on obtient des éclaircissements sur certains points d'histoire. En guise d'introduction, il suffira d'en donner maintenant un résumé succinct. Il est étrange de constater que la première précision chronologique de Kelsey recouvre une erreur. "En 83", écrit-il, "je m'embarquai à bord du vaisseau Lucy commandé par Jno. Outlaw". Grâce aux recherches de M. Levenson-Gower de la maison de la compagnie, nous savons maintenant que le Lucy ne vint à la baie d'Hudson qu'en 1684. Voici comment Kelsey attira l'attention de la compagnie: "En 88,¹ après que 3 sauvages auxquels on donnait une rémunération considérable pour transporter le courrier, de la rivière Hays à New Severn eussent été de retour sans s'être acquittés de leur mission bien qu'ils eussent reçu leur salaire, on m'envoya avec un jeune sauvage; au bout d'un mois je revins avec les réponses". Ce fut le même "jeune sauvage" qui, sous le nom de "Thomas Savage" accompagna Kelsey dans sa malheureuse expédition de Churchill de 1669: le 2 juin 1688, la compagnie avait ordonné "d'envoyer le jeune *Henry Kelsey* à la rivière Churchill avec *Thomas Savage* parce que nous apprenons que c'est un garçon entreprenant qui raffole de la compagnie des sauvages et qui est au comble de ses vœux lorsqu'il voyage avec eux".

Le *Journal* de Churchill est un triste récit de misères qui se terminèrent par l'insuccès. Arrivés le 27 juin à l'intérieur du pays "à environ 20 lieues de la rivière Churchill", Kelsey et son unique compagnon franchirent des terres stériles "couvertes de moustiques" en "n'ayant pour tout abri que la voûte

¹ A-t-on confondu encore une fois cette date avec "87" La lettre de la compagnie relative au "jeune Henry Kelsey" et à "Thomas Savage" porte la date du 2 juin 1688 (Rapport, p. 274). Il est pratiquement impossible que ce texte ait été rédigé à Londres, l'année même du voyage de Kelsey à New Severn.

céleste". Le 9 juillet, il "aperçut deux bisons" (bœufs musqués) avec des cornes qui "ont une naissance commune au front, descendent le long de la tête puis remontent jusqu'à ce que les deux bouts soient au niveau des points d'origine; leur poil mesure près d'un pied". Kelsey a donc été, semble-t-il, le premier blanc qui ait découvert le bœuf musqué. Après avoir parcouru une distance de 128 milles, il constata une "lenteur manifeste" chez "Thomas Sauvage" qui "me dit", ajoute Kelsey, "que j'étais un imbécile et qu'il n'avancerait plus parce que je ne me rendais pas compte des dangers qui nous menaçaient". Revenus à Churchill, ils trouvèrent la maison que l'on construisait pour les besoins du commerce "réduite en cendres, presque tout ce qu'elle renfermait ayant été la proie des flammes". Au fort York, ajoute Kelsey en terminant, "accompagné du jeune sauvage, je me rendis auprès du gouverneur pour lui faire connaître la conduite de mon compagnon. Le gouverneur me dit que mon voyage me récompensait de mes misères. Depuis il ne me questionna plus à ce sujet".

L'année suivante (1690), le gouverneur Geyer assigna toutefois à Kelsey une mission plus difficile. "Cet été", écrit-il, "j'envoyai Kelsey (qui entreprit ce voyage de grand cœur), dans le pays des *Assinae Poets*, accompagné du capitaine de cette tribu, afin de réunir ces sauvages, leur prodiguer des encouragements et inviter ceux qui étaient le plus éloignés à trafiquer avec nous". En 1691 arriva "une lettre d'*Henry Kelsey*, le jeune homme que j'envoyai l'an dernier chez les *Assinae Poets*". Le gouverneur avait expédié à Kelsey, "ce qu'il avait demandé par écrit" avec l'ordre "de revenir l'année suivante avec autant de sauvages que possible". En septembre 1792, Geyer écrivit que Kelsey était arrivé "avec bon nombre de canots remplis de sauvages". C'est ce qui est consigné dans le rapport de 1749 et les *Papiers de Kelsey* corroborent cette assertion avec un luxe de détails.

"La compagnie, écrit Kelsey, chargea deux Français: Gooseberry (Groseilliers) et Grammair de se rendre auprès des indigènes pour les inviter à trafiquer. Mais ces deux employés n'allèrent pas à 200 milles de la factorerie; c'est alors que l'on m'envoya avec les Assiniboines dans le pays

desquels je restai deux ans”.¹ Dans son introduction en vers au *Journal* de 1691, Kelsey se montre encore plus explicite :

“Comme on peut facilement le constater, je partis en l’an 1690 . . . et afin de promouvoir les intérêts de mes maîtres, je quittai bientôt le poste (le fort York), le 12 juin. Après avoir pris congé de tous mes compatriotes, je remontai la rivière, le cœur lourd de tristesse, afin de vivre si Dieu le permettait, pendant une année ou deux au milieu des indigènes. Ceux-ci nous avaient communiqué des renseignements encourageants sur l’intérieur du pays que l’Anglais n’avait pas encore franchi. J’atteignis bientôt les limites du pays des Assiniboines (Stone Indians). Le 12 juillet, au nom de mes supérieurs, je pris possession du sol que je foulais et que j’appelai le cap Deering.

Je m’étais dirigé vers le sud-ouest et une distance d’au moins 600 milles me séparait du point de départ. J’avais dû passer par plusieurs rivières dont les cascades rendent le courant rapide et, en outre, faire trente-trois portages et traverser cinq lacs”.

Lorsque septembre fut venu, il avait franchi un sol boisé qui produit des noisettes et d’excellentes petites cerises”. Puis la forêt disparaît et

“vous pouvez voir ensuite diverses espèces de bêtes : des énormes animaux noirs appelés des bisons ; des ours qui semblent trop grands et dont la chair constitue un excellent aliment. Cet animal sert de nourriture à l’homme mais peut aussi le dévorer. Cette plaine n’offre que de l’herbe et des bêtes et il nous fallut trois jours pour la franchir. Elle mesure environ 46 milles. Lorsque les temps froids furent arrivés, je plantai une croix au cap Deering sur laquelle j’inscrivis, en témoignage de ma venue en cette région, l’année courante ainsi que le nom de mon maître, Sir Edward Deering”.

¹ Mémoire de 1690. Voir plus bas p. 111. Par ces mots “Gooseberry” et “Grammair”, l’auteur entend Jean-Baptiste, fils de Médard Chouart des Groseillers, et Elie Grimard dont on retrouve les noms avec plusieurs variantes bizarres dans le *Minute Book* de la compagnie. Le 13 mars 1685, ces deux Français ainsi que deux de leurs compatriotes “entrèrent au service de la compagnie” pour une période de quatre ans à raison de 100 livres sterling accordées annuellement à Chouart et d’un salaire annuel de 30 livres jusqu’à concurrence de 45 livres accordé à Grimard.

Dans son *Journal*, Kelsey raconte avec précision son deuxième voyage qu'il fit en 1691-92 en partant de la pointe Deering. Après être parti le 15 juillet et avoir parcouru 71 milles en canot en trois jours et demi, le dernier jour ayant été consacré à remonter "une rivière au courant très rapide", Kelsey et ses gens s'éloignèrent de la rivière et suivirent "les Assiniboines qui étaient partis dix jours avant nous". Au cours d'un voyage de 55 jours où il franchit des prairies et des vallées pendant plus de 500 milles, Kelsey raconte plusieurs épisodes: le stratagème des sauvages pour tuer une grande quantité de bisons"; l'action des *Naywattamee poets* qui, après avoir tué trois Nayhathaways, s'enfuirent si loin que . . . je ne devais plus les revoir"; sa rencontre avec les Assiniboines du sud, le 25 août; "80 tentes y furent alors dressées", le festin du 3 septembre au cours duquel il fit savoir que le gouverneur "ne trafiquerait pas avec eux s'ils n'enterraient la hache de guerre"; l'arrivée tardive de messagers des "Naywatamee poets"; sa façon de rétablir la paix entre cette tribu et les Assiniboines et la promesse qu'il reçut du chef des Naywatamee de se rendre à la baie après lui avoir offert des présents et donné un grand festin, le 12 septembre. Les variantes entre les *Journaux* imprimés dans le *Rapport* de 1749 et le *Journal* complet de Kelsey ne sont certes pas insignifiantes mais on trouve facilement la raison de toutes les contradictions apparentes; ainsi est enfin vengée la mémoire du gouverneur Geyer.

A l'automne de 1692, Kelsey rentra en Angleterre. En 1694, il revint à la baie d'Hudson, mais fut "capturé par les Français et ramené en Angleterre". Dans sa lettre du 8 août 1694 et son *Journal* du 13 août au 4 octobre, Kelsey donne tous les détails de cette affaire.¹ Le 14 septembre, Iberville arriva avec deux vaisseaux français en cet endroit où il débarqua 30 ou 40 hommes, des mortiers et des bombes. Le 3 octobre, un parlementaire vint remettre un ultimatum où il était dit "qu'ils étaient prêts à canonner et à bombarder le fort et qu'ils le réduiraient en cendres et ne nous feraient pas de quartier au cas où nous refuserions de nous rendre". Le jour suivant, le gouverneur décida de capituler et "14 d'entre nous reçurent l'ordre

¹ Voir plus bas, pp. 33, 39-45.

de se rendre auprès de M. Diberveall". Kelsey se rendit de nouveau à la baie en 1696 "afin de reprendre le fort", mais "M. Diberville . . . et ses trois voiles nous échappèrent". L'année suivante eut lieu le fameux combat entre le *Pélican*, le *Hampshire*, le *Hudson's Bay* et le *Deering*. Une deuxième fois d'Iberville débarqua des mortiers et des bombes dans cette région. A trois reprises, on opposa un refus à ses demandes. Mais finalement, "après avoir constaté que l'ennemi était fort de 900 hommes et tenu compte des mauvaises nouvelles que nous avaient apportées nos propres vaisseaux", la garnison "sortit . . . et les Français prirent possession du fort; et c'est ainsi que se terminèrent un long hiver et le tragique journal tenu par moi, Henry Kelsey".

Kelsey alla à la baie une troisième fois en 1698. En 1701, il est "maître d'équipage et commandant de la factorerie" à East Main; en 1703, il est de nouveau en Angleterre; en 1706, il devient "officier en second de la frégate Perry"—ses goûts d'homme de mer passent maintenant au premier plan dans ses relations—et de nouveau trafiquant à East Main. Il rentre en Angleterre en 1712, puis retourne à la baie après que le traité d'Utrecht eut définitivement disposé des réclamations françaises. En 1718, il devint enfin gouverneur de son ancien poste du fort York. Il s'occupe activement de ses projets de découverte et "d'hivernement dans les régions septentrionales", quand il abandonne son existence aventureuse: en 1722 il cesse la rédaction de son *Journal*. Il faut puiser à d'autres sources des renseignements sur les dernières années de sa vie. Après son rappel en 1722, aucun document, semble-t-il, n'atteste son retour à la baie et l'on pourrait à bon droit conclure que ses os reposent en terre anglaise.

Beaucoup de choses que nous aimerions à savoir sur Kelsey sont aussi insaisissables que la brume du fort York qu'il décrivit un jour. Le courage précoce du "jeune Kelsey" ne se démentit jamais pendant près de quarante ans de sa vie connue. Nous lisons dans le journal du voyage à Churchill que "Thomas Savage" le traita d'imbécile parce qu'il ne se rendait pas compte des dangers qui le menaçaient. Et lorsqu'ils durent à leur retour pour franchir la rivière, construire un radeau trop petit, au dire de Kelsey, pour les porter eux et leurs bagages, "j'y

déposai le garçon et les bagages et je traversai la rivière à la nage dans une eau très froide”. Avant d’entreprendre sa grande aventure de 1690, il “avait pris la détermination de revoir ce même pays”; il ajoute toutefois, avec une sincérité qui révèle un esprit véritablement courageux, qu’il avait souvent été “oppressé, car j’étais seul et sans soutien; au cours de mes pérégrinations je fus même une fois abandonné de mes amis et en proie à la crainte et à la terreur”.

Comme nous l’avons déjà constaté, Robson lui-même nous transmet l’anecdote où il est rapporté que Kelsey tua une fois deux ours gris pendant son voyage vers les prairies et que les sauvages admirant l’auteur de cet exploit le surnommèrent “Mistopashish ou petit géant”; c’est peut-être le seul renseignement que nous possédions sur sa stature ou son extérieur. Lorsque le *Whalebone* et le *Prosperous* “essuyèrent une très forte tempête” en 1721, le capitaine “me pria de prendre la direction du vaisseau”, et “Dieu merci”, ajoute modestement Kelsey, “nous arrivâmes tous deux sans encombre au port”. C’est Kelsey qui sauva du naufrage la cargaison du *Perry* et le grand canot du *Seaford*. Les préparatifs considérables qu’il fit au cours de “l’ennuyeux hiver” de 1696-97—palissades, canons de bronze, gros mortier, flancs du fort,—tout cela est d’accord avec sa conduite envers “M. Dibberveal” au moment où se termina son “tragique journal” le mois de septembre suivant.

On trouve plus de réticences que d’humour dans les *Papiers de Kelsey*; cette constatation sans doute ne surprendra personne. Le dernier jour de l’an 1696, il écrivit dans son journal une demi-douzaine de lignes dans l’idiome¹ des sauvages; c’était “une plaisanterie du bon vieux temps” . . . parce que “un secret échappé ne se rappelle plus. Porte-toi bien”. “Pour empêcher les sauvages de déterrer la hache de guerre, observe-t-il, tous mes arguments ne purent les convaincre . . . Après avoir constaté l’inutilité de mes efforts, je pris le parti de me taire”. En outre il raille les sorciers qui prétendent connaître “la nature de la voûte céleste” puisqu’ils s’y sont rendus et

¹ L’idiome cri ou un dialecte qui en dérive. La transcription de ce texte est si vague qu’on ne saurait en faire la traduction.

l'ont examinée". Même les aventures de "Whiskers" et de ses pauvres petits égaient parfois la monotone description des "perdrix" et des "approvisionnement de bois" chez les "Quatorze", ainsi que les "tentes dressées au bord des marécages pour abattre des oies" et le "comptage des peaux de castor à l'entrepôt" du fort York.

(d) *Kelsey et la Compagnie*

La documentation relative à Kelsey est si rare qu'on ne saurait passer sous silence quelques pièces fragmentaires si insignifiantes qu'elles soient. Les détails que renferment les *Minute Books* et les *Letter Books* de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson sont très souvent prosaïques: listes de salaires payés ou acceptés, nominations, louanges ou blâmes. Plusieurs de ces documents présentent un intérêt que leurs auteurs ne soupçonnèrent pas; d'autres soulèvent d'assez nombreux points historiques. Il convient peut-être de consigner maintenant dans l'ordre chronologique et pour des fins de documentation quelques-unes de ces remarques.

Henry Kelsey entra comme apprenti au service de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson le 14 avril 1684. Il était alors, semble-t-il, âgé de 14 ans. Il aurait donc vu le jour l'année même ou la compagnie reçut sa charte. Son premier engagement comportait une période de quatre ans de service; lorsque ce temps serait écoulé, il recevrait la somme de 8 livres sterling et deux habits.¹

Sous la rubrique 2 mai 1684, on peut lire dans le registre de la compagnie l'inscription suivante: "Payé à Jno Butlaw pour débours à Henry Kelsey, l'un des apprentis au service de la compagnie, 5 louis, 12 shillings."

Quatre ans plus tard, le 2 juin 1688, le gouverneur Geyer reçut les instructions suivantes reproduites dans le *Rapport* de 1749: "le jeune Henry Kelsey accompagné de Thomas Savage sera envoyé à la rivière Churchill parce qu'on nous dit que c'est un adolescent entreprenant qui raffole de la compagnie

¹ *Minute Book* de la compagnie, 14 avril 1684. Maison de la compagnie.

des sauvages et qui est au comble de ses vœux lorsqu'il voyage parmi eux".¹ Ce livre ne renferme aucun autre renseignement sur le voyage à Churchill; mais lorsque, le 8 septembre 1690, Geyer fit savoir que "cet été, j'envoyai Henry Kelsey (qui entreprit ce voyage de bon cœur) dans le pays des *Assinaepoets* accompagné du capitaine de cette nation", la compagnie, par sa réponse du 21 mai 1691, se déclara "heureuse de constater que vous avez décidé Henry Kelsey à entreprendre ce voyage en compagnie de sauvages en espérant que les encouragements que vous lui avez prodigués par la hausse de ses gages pousseront d'autres jeunes gens de la factorerie à suivre son exemple".² Ce relèvement de salaire doit avoir trait au réengagement de Kelsey en 1688, après ses quatre ans d'apprentissage, puisque la récompense accordée au découvreur pour son voyage dans les prairies au cours des années 1690-92 était laissée à la discrétion du gouverneur. "Nous sommes heureux de savoir, écrivit la compagnie, le 17 juin 1693, qu'Henry Kelsey est revenu sain et sauf accompagné d'un grand nombre de sauvages et nous espérons qu'il s'est acquitté de sa mission qui consistait à maintenir la paix entre les sauvages afin qu'ils pussent désormais consacrer plus de temps à leur négoce . . . Comme c'est vous qui connaissez personnellement son mérite, nous laissons à votre discrétion le soin de récompenser Henry Kelsey du service qu'il nous a rendu en allant dans ce pays".³

Le 25 avril 1694, la compagnie engagea Kelsey, alors en Angleterre, comme nous l'avons remarqué, avec salaire de 30 livres sterling par an. Le 30 mai 1694, une lettre de la compagnie au capitaine Knight consigne ce qui suit: "Nous avons remis à Kelsey un fusil de quatre pieds de long fabriqué par le capitaine Silke. Il s'en servira pendant son voyage et le déposera à la factorerie à son arrivée en cet endroit".⁴ En 1698, Kelsey se rengagea pour trois ans à un salaire de 25 livres sterling par an, c'est-à-dire 5 livres de moins qu'en 1694. Mais la compagnie ajoute que, "en raison de la parfaite diligence et de la fidélité à toute épreuve de Kelsey, le gouverneur Knight recommanda d'ajouter annuellement 5 livres au salaire du

¹ *Letter Book* de la compagnie, 602, p. 5. Maison de la compagnie.

² Id., p. 43.

³ Id., p. 68.

⁴ Id., p. 103.

découvreur”.¹ En toute justice, il faut ajouter que cette baisse de salaire s’effectua après la signature du désastreux traité de Ryswick au moment où la compression des dépenses était à l’ordre du jour. Le comité de la compagnie de la baie d’Hudson “a bord de la frégate Deering au Nord” reconnu, le 31 mai 1697, le rôle que Kelsey avait soutenu dans la reprise—par la suite inutile,—du fort York”. “Nous rendons grâce au ciel, écrivit le comité, pour le succès que vous avez remporté l’an dernier en reprenant le fort York”.²

Pendant les années dépourvues d’intérêt qui s’écoulèrent entre les traités de Ryswick et d’Utrecht (1697-1713), le nom de Kelsey apparaît fréquemment sur les registres de la compagnie. Le 23 juin 1702, le comité “accuse réception de la lettre de Kelsey du 5 septembre dernier et est heureux d’apprendre que le gouverneur Fulertine vous a nommé capitaine du *Knight* et vous a envoyé à Est Main”.³ On peut lire dans le *Minute Book* cette inscription datée du 28 novembre 1705: “M. Henry Kelsey entre au service de la compagnie sous condition de s’embarquer à bord du vaisseau de la compagnie qui entreprendra le voyage à la baie d’Hudson, pour y diriger la traite dans le pays et toucher le salaire d’un gouverneur adjoint, à savoir 100 louis par an, à partir de son arrivée dans le pays, et de succéder à M. Bishop comme gouverneur adjoint au cas où celui-ci serait mort; dans le cas contraire, M. Kelsey sera chef des trafiquants au fort Albany”.⁴ On peut lire dans un rapport du comité portant la signature du gouverneur et du gouverneur adjoint que Kelsey fut nommé “capitaine de la frégate Knight et agent en chef à East Main”.⁵

En 1707, il est souvent question d’Henry Kelsey dans les *Journals* d’Anthony Beale du fort Albany. Le 14 mai 1707, on remit 5 livres sterling à l’épouse du découvreur.⁶ Le *Knight* sur lequel monta Kelsey en 1707 n’atteignit pas East Main “en raison de divers contretemps”, mais la compagnie “apprit

¹ *Minute Book*, 25 mai 1698.

² *Letter Book*, 603, p. 59.

³ “Nous espérons vraiment que vous vous acquitterez avec fidélité et avec soin de la mission que nous vous avons confiée”. Id., p. 105.

⁴ *Minute Book*, 227.

⁵ Id., 228, 19 mars 1706.

⁶ Fort Albany, N° 2, A. 3, 1706-1707; *Minute Book*, 1707.

avec joie votre heureuse arrivée en cet endroit et reçut votre journal de votre voyage d'aller que nous approuvons de tout cœur".¹ En 1709, on remit 28 livres 8 shillings 2 deniers, et 30 livres en 1710, à "Mme Eliz. Kelsey, épouse d'Henry Kelsey".²

La lettre qu'écrivit le gouverneur en son conseil, le 29 mai 1710, offre un intérêt tout particulier. Kelsey reçut le conseil d'agir seulement sous les ordres du gouverneur à la baie d'Hudson; "sans son consentement, vous ne ferez rien de votre propre chef et vous veillerez à ce que ce soit lui qui ait le dernier mot à dire . . . Vous ferez bien d'enseigner aux hommes la littérature et tout particulièrement la langue afin que nous puissions plus tard les faire voyager si nous le jugeons opportun . . . Le moment n'est pas encore venu de songer aux découvertes des mines; lorsque la paix sera conclue, on pourra peut-être faire quelque chose à ce sujet . . . Nous vous avons envoyé votre dictionnaire imprimé pour que vous puissiez enseigner plus facilement l'idiome des sauvages aux jeunes gens qui sont avec vous".³ Le projet de Kelsey "d'enseigner la littérature aux hommes" serait-il le commencement d'une longue série de bons livres aux postes de la compagnie? Et le "dictionnaire imprimé" de Kelsey serait-il le premier produit littéraire des territoires de Rupert? Il s'agit évidemment du "vocabulaire de l'idiome des sauvages auquel Robson fait allusion, en termes non équivoques, dans son *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*: "On m'a dit que, après sa nomination au poste de gouverneur du fort York, Kelsey rédigea un dictionnaire de l'idiome des sauvages et que la compagnie ordonna de détruire ce livre".⁴

Le *Factory Journal* d'Anthony Beale au fort Albany, en 1711, mentionne ici et là le nom de Kelsey; une mention du 1er août 1712 nous apprend que "le capitaine Ward et Henry Kelsey montèrent à bord du Knight à destination de l'Angleterre".⁵

¹ *Letter Book*, 26 mai 1708.

² *Minute Book*, 25 mars 1709 et 17 mai 1710.

³ *Letter Book*, 603, p. 199.

⁴ P. 72.

⁵ Anthony Beale, *Factory Journal*, 3 A. 3, 1711; 4 A. 3, 1712.

Le traité d'Utrecht de 1713 rétablit enfin la prospérité de la compagnie. Deux remarques sur cette période offrent un vif intérêt. A la date du 20 mai 1713, on lit ce qui suit dans le registre de la compagnie:

"M. Henry Kelsey nous soumit maintenant ses propositions de servir la compagnie en qualité de gouverneur adjoint au port Nelson, sous les ordres du capitaine James Knight; ce poste de gouverneur adjoint sous les ordres du capitaine James Knight sera accepté moyennant un salaire annuel de 100 livres sterling et lorsque ce dernier rentrera en Angleterre ou si, ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise, il vient à mourir, j'espère lui succéder.

"J'espère que la compagnie verra l'à propos de m'accorder une rémunération pour avoir accepté de M. Fullertine le poste de gouverneur. Et si ma santé ne me permettait pas de rester ici, j'aimerais avoir le privilège de retourner à la première occasion ou de donner, avant de revenir chez moi, un avis d'un an à la compagnie et d'avoir sa permission de me faire accompagner d'un serviteur . . .

"Lesquelles propositions de M. Henry Kelsey furent également acceptées dudit comité qui s'engagea à lui payer un salaire à partir du moment où il arriverait à Port Nelson".

Le *Minute Book* renferme une autre note, en date du 14 août 1713. Elle prouve, nonobstant les allégations contraires des Canadiens du siècle suivant, que la Couronne soutenait que le désastreux¹ traité de Ryswick n'avait pas annulé les droits de la compagnie (sur tous les postes, sauf ceux du fort Albany et de East Main); au contraire, la Couronne en prit possession en 1713 "pour nous et en notre nom . . . pour l'usage et au bénéfice du gouverneur et de la compagnie d'aventuriers anglais et de leurs successeurs trafiquant dans la baie d'Hudson".

"Deux commissions de Sa Majesté, à savoir, l'une au capitaine James Knight, le nommant gouverneur, et l'autre à M. Henry Kelsey, le nommant gouverneur adjoint dans la

¹ Voir le témoignage du juge en chef Draper qui comparut devant le comité spécial nommé pour enquêter sur les affaires de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, 1857. *Rapport*, p. 210.

baie d'Hudson . . . qui seront transportées sur un vaisseau de la compagnie, lesquelles commissions furent enfermées dans le coffre-fort.

“Anne par la grâce de Dieu, reine de la Grande-Bretagne, de la France et de l'Irlande, défenseur de la foi, etc. A notre féal et bien-aimé capitaine James Knight et à Henry Kelsey, écuyer, salut . . . pour prendre possession, pour Nous et en Notre Nom, de ladite baie ainsi que des détroits, mers intérieures, littoral, rivières, postes, forteresses et autres constructions . . . pour l'usage et au bénéfice du gouverneur et de la compagnie d'aventuriers anglais et de leurs successeurs qui trafiquent à la baie d'Hudson”.¹

Kelsey dut attendre en Angleterre pendant quelque temps: il ne reçut sa commission qu'en mai 1714. Pour attester ce fait, ainsi que les services antérieurs de M. Henry Kelsey, le comité “consent à lui accorder en guise d'encouragement une gratification de 75 livres sterling en plus de 25 que la compagnie lui a prêtées, en tout 100 livres sterling”.² Le 28 mai 1714, le secrétaire reçoit l'ordre de “coucher cette convention sur papier timbré afin qu'elle soit signée” par le comité.³

Le *Journal* du fort York (7 A. 3, 1714) renferme une copie de la lettre du gouverneur Knight montrant comment lui et Henry Kelsey prirent possession du fort Nelson dans l'été de 1714: “Avons trouvé le fort dans un très pitoyable état: vermoulu et sur le point de s'écrouler . . . Un des sauvages arriva lorsque j'arborai le drapeau anglais; il me dit qu'il n'aimait pas à le regarder: il aimait à voir flotter le drapeau blanc. Il y a donc ici plusieurs sauvages qui ont voué une vive amitié aux Français”.

C'est alors qu'on porta certaines accusations contre Kelsey; le capitaine Knight en fut l'auteur ou peut-être les transmit-il à la compagnie. La lettre renfermant ces accusations ne se trouve pas dans les archives de la compagnie, mais une lettre de Kelsey à Staunton semble indiquer que les rapines des

¹ La commission porte la date du 21 juillet 1713.

² *Minute Book*, 4 mai 1714.

³ La Commission nommant Kelsey gouverneur adjoint du fort York se trouve dans le *Letter Book* 603, p. 250.

sauvages en constituent la substance. Le 14 juin 1719, la compagnie écrivit la lettre suivante à Kelsey:

“Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de vous faire connaître les accusations concernant votre conduite qui nous furent transmises et dont vous saurez, nous l'espérons, vous disculper, et afin de vous faciliter cette tâche, nous incluons dans cette lettre une copie desdites accusations afin que vous connaissiez vos accusateurs et ce dont vous êtes accusé. Nous désirons que vous répondiez à tous les points soulevés, car nous ne pouvons nous résoudre à croire qu'une personne comme vous dont nous avons une si haute opinion puisse perdre l'estime de ceux qui sont vos amis affectionnés . . .”¹

Bien qu'on ait dû transmettre à Londres, au plus tard en 1718, les accusations contre Kelsey, il resta à la baie d'Hudson pendant quatre ans en sa qualité de gouverneur du fort York et de commandant en chef de tous les postes de la baie. Pour le moment, du moins, on ne peut que conjecturer la nature des accusations. Le *Factory Journal* (15 A. 3) du fort York renferme la copie d'une lettre, datée du 1er février 1719, que Kelsey envoya à Staunton alors à Churchill et où il est fait mention du voyage de découverte du capitaine Knight qui devait se terminer par le désastre de l'île Marble. “Ne manquez pas de suivre les ordres de la compagnie dans cette affaire”, écrit Kelsey, “car je suis sûr qu'elle m'a causé tout le tort qu'il était en son pouvoir de me faire en calomniant les sauvages, quoique, sans eux, nous eussions passé de durs moments cet hiver, puisqu'ils ont abattu près de 100 chevreuils . . . Dans un paragraphe relatif aux accusations, le capitaine Knight vous cite comme témoin; vous lui auriez dit, prétend-il, que pendant l'administration du capitaine Baylie vous aviez vu les sauvages sortir, durant la nuit, plusieurs paquets de la salle des marchandises, mais je considère que cette assertion et celles qui suivent sont les fruits de leur malice et qu'ils veulent me faire perdre mon emploi pour l'unique raison qu'ils craignent d'être éclipsés; quoi qu'il advienne, je n'en continuerai pas moins—et vous aussi, je l'espère,—à employer tous

¹ *Letter Book* 604 p. 59.

mes efforts pour stimuler le commerce et promouvoir les intérêts de nos maîtres pendant que nous sommes à leur service en ce pays”.

Un an plus tard Kelsey écrivit à Staunton: “Soyez convaincu que, en aucune façon, vous ne m’avez offensé comme vous auriez pu le croire en lisant ce que je vous ai écrit au sujet du capitaine Knight. Mais vous pensez bien qu’il est très pénible de se voir représenté à ses maîtres d’une façon si odieuse et blessé au vif dans sa réputation plus précieuse que la vie même. C’est pourquoi on ne devrait s’engager dans ces voies qu’avec une extrême diligence et, si Dieu me permet de confronter mes accusateurs, j’exigerai d’eux les preuves de leurs assertions”.¹

Pendant toute cette période, l’intérêt primordial que porte Kelsey à la “découverte des régions septentrionales” se manifeste de différentes façons. Un court voyage fait dans l’été de 1719 eut d’encourageants résultats. “J’ai vu plusieurs Esquimaux, écrit Kelsey, et je me suis procuré de l’huile de baleine, des dents de morse et j’ai échangé deux des esclaves² de la compagnie pour deux jeunes gens de ce pays. Ils sont très gentils et apprennent l’anglais rapidement; par leur intermédiaire, j’espère connaître les productions de leur pays”.³ L’année suivante (1er juin 1720), la compagnie écrivit à Kelsey:

“Nous vous ordonnons également de nous envoyer la copie de tous les journaux que vous-même ou d’autres avez pu tenir et de nous communiquer les découvertes faites au cours des voyages dans les régions septentrionales, ainsi que le nombre et le caractère des gens que vous avez rencontrés et le nombre de baleines que vous avez aperçues . . . aussi l’endroit d’où vient la marée, sa direction et jusqu’à quel point elle remonte et descend”.⁴

L’année suivante arriva des instructions encore plus sévères. Le 26 mai 1721, le gouverneur et le comité, quelque peu soucieux sans doute, écrivirent à Kelsey sur “son projet d’hiverner dans

¹ *Journal* du fort York 15 A. 3, 12 avril 1720.

² “Deux jeunes esclaves” dans le *Council Book* 15 A. 3, du fort York, 10 juin 1719.

³ Kelsey à Maclish, 18 janvier 1720, *Council Book* 15 A. 3, du fort York.

⁴ *Letter Book* 604.

les régions septentrionales”. “Nous voulons, ajoutèrent-ils, savoir si vous avez en vue la rivière Churchill, car nous ne saurions vous encourager à hiverner plus au nord au risque de votre vie et de celle de vos hommes; nous croyons que si vous faisiez ce voyage à n’importe quel moment en juin, vous verriez tout autant de baleines et vous rapporteriez tout autant de produits que si vous hivernez dans les régions septentrionales pour revenir à la fin d’août. Nous comptons sur vous pour nous inciter davantage à découvrir un moyen d’établir un commerce en ces régions, en y trouvant avec plus de succès que nous n’en avons eu jusqu’à présent du cuivre ou d’autres productions précieuses”.¹

Il est difficile de savoir si, en 1722, lorsque Kelsey reçut l’ordre de rentrer en Angleterre, les anciennes accusations relatives aux sauvages ou aux frais croissants occasionnés par ces années d’inutiles “découvertes des régions septentrionales” occupaient tout particulièrement l’attention du comité. Le 24 mai 1722, il écrivit la lettre suivante à Kelsey:

“Capitaine Kelsey, comme vous avez été à notre service depuis 8 ans, 4 ans gouverneur adjoint et 4 ans gouverneur au fort York, nous croyons qu’il est opportun de vous rappeler et, par suite, nous espérons vous voir revenir à bord de la frégate *Mary* que commande le capitaine James Belcher, ayant nommé à votre place M. Thos. Maclish à qui vous remettrez possession du fort et du pays dès sa descente du vaisseau; en outre, nous avons prié M. Maclish d’avoir pour vous tous les égards jusqu’au départ de notre vaisseau pour l’Angleterre”.²

Une mention du 31 octobre 1722 dans le *Minute Book* montre avec évidence que Kelsey à son arrivée, reçut “un bon accueil de la part du comité”. On ne donna pas suite aux anciennes accusations proférées contre lui ou, du moins, si on le fit, on ne réussit pas à en établir le bien-fondé. Dans le *Minute Book*, on peut lire cette mention, en date du 23 janvier 1723:

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

“Ce comité, tenant compte des peaux capturées et apportées ici par le capitaine Henry Kelsey et vendues par la compagnie, a résolu de lui remettre le plein montant de la vente, à savoir 22 livres sterling, 13 shillings, 2 deniers. Ledit capitaine Henry Kelsey ayant servi la compagnie à la baie d’Hudson en sa qualité de gouverneur adjoint et de gouverneur pendant les 8 dernières années, le secrétaire est autorisé à lui remettre ladite somme”.

L’année suivante (1724), le nom de Kelsey apparaît pour la dernière fois. On lit ce qui suit dans le *Minute Book*, en date du 29 janvier 1724: “On prit connaissance des pétitions respectives du capitaine Henry Kelsey et du capitaine Geo. Kennedy qui désirent être nommés commandant du vaisseau *Hannah* de la compagnie en remplacement du feu capitaine Gaston; le secrétaire est autorisé à les mettre de côté, le comité ayant l’intention de fixer un jour pour étudier la question”. Le 12 février 1724, le comité “décida de ne pas envoyer le *Hannah* à la baie d’Hudson cette année”.

Il reste à mentionner deux brefs documents qui contiennent un triste épilogue. Le *Minute Book* renferme la note suivante, datée du 28 janvier 1730.

“Eliz Kelsey, veuve du feu capitaine Henry Kelsey, autrefois gouverneur de la compagnie au fort York dans la baie d’Hudson, ayant prié le comité de lui accorder une gratification quelconque qui lui permettrait de mettre son fils en apprentissage; le comité prenant en considération les anciens services rendus par son mari, ledit Henry Kelsey, autorise le secrétaire d’accorder à cette fin à ladite veuve à même les fonds de la compagnie, une gratification de dix guinées, à savoir 10 livres sterling 10 shillings”.

Enfin, le 20 février 1734, dix ans après que Kelsey eut demandé le commandement du *Hannah*, son nom apparaît pour la dernière fois, semble-t-il, dans les registres de la compagnie: “Eliz Kelsey, veuve d’Henry Kelsey autrefois gouverneur de la compagnie au fort York dans la baie d’Hudson, ayant prié la compagnie de lui donner quelque chose qui lui permit d’acheter des vêtements à son fils John Kelsey puis-

qu'elle se trouve dans l'impossibilité absolue de le faire; ce comité prenant en considération les anciens services rendus par son père, ledit Henry Kelsey, ordonne que la somme de 6 livres sterling soit mise de côté pour acheter des vêtements à John Kelsey et que le secrétaire voit à ce que ladite somme soit mise de côté".¹

Kelsey a dû mourir entre février 1724 et janvier 1730. Le fait que la veuve fut forcée de demander à la compagnie "quelque chose qui lui permit d'acheter des vêtements à son fils, John Kelsey, puisqu'elle se trouve dans l'impossibilité absolue de le faire" est un éloquent commentaire des vicissitudes des voyages d'aventures et de découvertes relatives au commerce des fourrures.

(e) *Route de Kelsey en 1691*

C'est le topographe connaissant à fond les régions septentrionales qui, en dernière analyse, est appelé à résoudre le plus intéressant problème peut-être que soulève les *Papiers de Kelsey*. Quelle fut la route que suivit Kelsey au cours de ses voyages de 1690-91? Quels points, au sud et à l'ouest atteignit-il dans sa recherche des "Naywatamee Poets"? En troisième lieu, où se trouvait la pointe Deering?

"Je m'étais dirigé vers le sud-ouest et une distance d'au moins 600 milles me séparait du point de départ. J'avais dû franchir plusieurs rivières et, en outre, faire trente-trois portages et traverser cinq lacs".

Kelsey quitta le fort York "le 12 juin 1690 et" le 10 juillet, prit possession de la pointe Deering "sur les limites du pays des Assiniboines". "En cet endroit, remarque-t-il, le sol commence à être sec et garni de bons frênes ainsi que de peupliers et de bouleaux". Plus loin il y a des "noisettes et de petites cerises . . . jusqu'à ce que vous quittiez la forêt pour apercevoir "l'énorme bison". Un an plus tard, il signale une "grande

¹ *Minute Book*. Dans l'*Apprentice Book*, Inland I, Vol. 12, p. 171, Public Record Office, on lit ce qui suit: [1731] le 16 juin [N°] 11 [Noms des patrons Résidence Métier] Thos: Fanner de Selbourn Southton cordonnier [Noms des apprentis et de leurs pères Résidence] Will: fils d'Eliz. Kelsey [Date] 1er mai [Liste des articles] Contrat d'apprentissage et contre-partie [Nombre d'années] 8 ans Date 7-, -, -, 3.6.

quantité d'animaux" dans cette même région où les sauvages firent "un grand festin et manifestèrent leur joie de me voir revenu selon ma promesse".¹

Débarrassé des entraves de la versification et de la rime, le *Journal* de son second voyage, fait en 1691 à travers les prairies, est plus explicite. Toutefois Kelsey eut tout d'abord le dessein de "nouer des relations commerciales" avec les sauvages de la baie et non pas de dresser la carte du pays. Les interminables pages remplies d'observations nautiques que renferment les *Journals* de 1698 révèlent simultanément chez Kelsey une science de la navigation et une connaissance de la boussole et des cartes marines. Mais il était encore un tout jeune homme en 1691: trois ans auparavant, on l'appelait "le jeune Henry Kelsey". L'absence de remarques topographiques s'explique: il était parti "dans l'intérêt de son maître pour apprendre l'idiome des sauvages et voir leur pays".

Il est donc nécessaire d'insister tout d'abord sur trois faits d'une importance capitale à qui veut vérifier les assertions que renferme le *Journal* de 1691, de Kelsey. 1° Il quitta le fort York le 12 juin 1690 et arriva le 10 juillet à la pointe Deering. Kelsey ne tint pas de journal du premier voyage qu'un blanc ait fait par voie d'eau de la baie à la Saskatchewan; l'introduction mal versifiée au *Journal* de l'année suivante constitue le seul document que nous ayons à ce sujet. 2° Après son arrivée à la pointe Deering en juillet 1690, il suivit les sauvages jusqu'aux prairies pour y passer l'hiver et revenir à la pointe Deering en juillet 1691 afin d'y rencontrer les sauvages qui revenaient à la baie. On remarquera encore une fois que Kelsey ne tint pas de journal du premier voyage que fit un blanc à travers les prairies canadiennes et le seul document conservé sur cette question est la même introduction en vers avec quelques fragments du *Journal* du 15 juillet au 12 septembre 1691 que confirment certains témoignages. Le 30 juillet 1691, il observe que les sauvages des prairies "étaient heureux de me voir revenir selon ma promesse". Dans la même année également, sa première allusion au bison se trouve dans sa remarque fortuite du 19 août sur "les sauvages qui virent un grand nombre

¹ *Journal*, 30 juillet.

de bisons, mais n'en tuèrent aucun". Son voyage antérieur l'avait sans doute familiarisé avec ces animaux et la description que par hasard il fit le lendemain (le 20 août) des ours gris et des bisons montre qu'il les avait rencontrés auparavant. Tels sont à peu près les seuls témoignages qui confirment l'assertion que l'on trouve dans l'introduction en vers et dans la correspondance du gouverneur Geyer au sujet d'un blanc qui aurait atteint les prairies canadiennes en 1690. 3° Le *Journal* de 1691, ici reproduit au long pour la première fois, ne traite, en somme, que de la troisième étape du mémorable voyage de Kelsey dans les prairies. Lorsqu'il s'en retourna à la pointe Deering dans l'été de 1691, il "avait reçu tout ce que le gouverneur m'avait envoyé" sans doute par l'intermédiaire des sauvages qui revenaient de leur voyage annuel au fort York. Afin de suivre ces "Assiniboines partis depuis dix jours" avant lui pour la Saskatchewan, il entreprit le voyage que mentionnent les premières lignes du *Journal*: "je quittait la pointe Deering" le 15 juillet 1691.

En nous abstenant d'émettre pour le moment des hypothèses sur la localisation de la pointe Deering, nous pouvons esquisser le voyage subséquent de Kelsey en nous servant de son récit afin d'obtenir le contexte nécessaire. Le troisième jour après le départ de la pointe Deering, ils décidèrent, écrit Kelsey, "d'immobiliser leurs canots dans un petit bras de la rivière au courant très rapide et d'entrer dans les bois". Ils marchèrent pendant six jours franchissant près de cent milles avant de "faire de bonnes journées". Dans la soirée, ils atteignirent les Assiniboines abrités sous sept tentes et qui avaient quitté la pointe Deering dix jours avant Kelsey. Trois semaines après être parti de la pointe Deering, le découvreur reçut la visite de messagers de "certains Assiniboines au sud de l'endroit où nous étions". Deux jours plus tard, le lieu du rendez-vous est un "endroit appelé Waskashreesebee" traversé d'un cours d'eau peu profond qui "ne mesure pas cent verges de large"; vers le sud, il forme plusieurs bras, traverse une grande partie du pays et prend sa source dans un lac qui alimente une autre rivière qui se dirige au sud de l'endroit où nous sommes . . . Maintenant l'eau de cette rivière est rouge comme du sang

au dire des sauvages qui l'ont vue". Pendant les 25 milles suivants, ils "côtoyèrent la rivière qui coule dans la direction du sud-ouest mais qui est innavigable, pour un vaisseau ou un canot". En plusieurs endroits, Kelsey vit des "filons d'ardoise sur les bords de la rivière". C'est alors que pour la première fois les sauvages abattirent "une grande quantité de bêtes", en laissant aux femmes le soin de transporter les viandes et de les apprêter pendant qu'ils festinèrent toute la journée". Sept semaines après avoir quitté la pointe Deering, les Assiniboines et les "Nayhaythaways" rencontrèrent leurs ennemis qui "ne savaient manier un canot". Le dernier festin avec le capitaine des "Nawatamee" eut lieu deux semaines après avoir traversé une grande plaine mesurant 46 milles. En somme Kelsey, depuis son départ de la pointe Deering avait voyagé pendant 59 jours et franchi une distance de 585 milles d'après les calculs qu'on en a faits. Après avoir sans doute hiverné chez les Assiniboines, Kelsey, pour la troisième fois "arriva à la pointe Deering au printemps" d'où, comme nous l'avons constaté, il se "rendit au fort York accompagné d'un grand nombre de sauvages" pour rentrer en Angleterre, à l'automne, sur un des vaisseaux de la compagnie.

Il appert donc que pour le géographe la localisation de la pointe Deering constitue la clef de toutes les difficultés. Avec l'apparition des trafiquants français avant 1763 et des trafiquants anglais après 1763 venant du Canada, tout le système du commerce des fourrures de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson se trouva révolutionné et les données historiques de l'époque relatives aux routes que suivaient les sauvages pour se rendre à la baie seraient d'une faible importance. Mais il existe heureusement de plus anciens documents presque contemporains de Kelsey et qui, semble-t-il, offrent assez de précisions sur les routes que suivaient les sauvages pour aller à la baie.

Kelsey appelle la pointe Deering "le lieu de rendez-vous lorsqu'ils viennent de leur pays pour trafiquer". A ce sujet, Arthur Dobbs s'efforce d'éclaircir la question en citant La Potherie¹ et le journal de Jérémie, qui séjourna à Ste-Thérèse (le fort York) pendant l'occupation française après le traité

¹ Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale, Paris, 1722, 4 vol.

de Ryswick en 1697 et qui fut gouverneur du poste après le traité d'Utrecht.¹ Au dire de La Potherie, "ces tribus qui viennent de très loin se réunissent en mai sur le bord d'un grand lac, au nombre de 1,200 ou 1,500 personnes, pour entreprendre le voyage . . . pendant lequel ils font leurs canots avec de l'écorce de bouleau . . . D'ordinaire près de 1,000 hommes, quelques femmes et environ 600 canots descendent jusqu'à Port Nelson". La Nelson (la Bourbon), ajoute-t-il, "prend sa source dans un grand lac appelé Michinipi".² Selon Jérémie, la Nelson "que les indigènes descendent pour trafiquer" a un "si long parcours qu'elle passe par plusieurs grands lacs" dont le plus considérable "est appelé *Michinipi* ou *L'eau immense* parce que, en effet, c'est le plus grand et le plus profond des lacs ayant un pourtour de 600 lieues . . . Autour du lac se trouvent de nombreux sauvages qui s'appellent Assinibouels".³ A un autre endroit, il écrit que le grand lac qui alimente "la rivière Bourbon" (la Nelson) est "appelée la *jonction des deux mers*, parce que les terres se touchent presque au milieu du lac. Le côté est du lac est une région couverte d'épaisses forêts fertiles en castors et en élans. C'est ici que commence le pays des *Christinaux* . . . Le côté ouest renferme de belles prairies où paissent de nombreux bisons sauvages; les Assiniboines vivent en cet endroit".

Il est permis de croire que le "Michinipi" de La Potherie et de Jérémie est le lac Winnipeg et que, pendant l'occupation française qui eut lieu moins de dix ans après que Kelsey eut quitté le fort York pour pénétrer à l'intérieur du pays avec les Assiniboines, les sauvages descendaient régulièrement la Nelson (en se rendant jusqu'à l'embouchure de la rivière ou en franchissant la distance entre le lac Split et la rivière aux Renards jusqu'à la rivière Hayes) et qu'ils s'assemblaient annuellement en mai, au bord de quelque "grand lac" afin de faire leurs canots. En cet endroit, ajoute Jérémie, "régnaient la Joie, le Plaisir et la Bonne Chère".

Un autre document qui nous est parvenu et qui fut rédigé après la mort de Kelsey apporte une curieuse et minutieuse

¹ Bernard, *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*. Amsterdam, 1724.

² Dobbs, op. cit. pp. 25-23.

³ Id. p. 20.

confirmation à ce récit: c'est l'histoire de Joseph La France, métis français qui, de 1739 à 1742, voyagea entre les Grands Lacs, le lac Winnipeg et la baie d'Hudson. Dobbs prétend avoir "écrit mot à mot"¹ le récit de La France; et il faut avouer que la description du lac à la Pluie, du lac des Bois, de la rivière Winnipeg et du "grand lac Ouinipique" est d'une exactitude merveilleuse pour l'époque. "Sur le côté ouest du lac Ouinipique" écrit La France", demeure la nation des Assiniboines des prairies". Après avoir passé un hiver à voyager sur terre" au cours duquel il se dirigea vers le nord pour plus de 100 lieues," il arriva en mars 1742, au lac Caribou qui serpente à travers les marais pour se jeter dans le lac Pachegoia,² où tous les *sauvages* s'assemblent annuellement, à la fin de mars, pour abattre des bouleaux et faire des canots avec l'écorce de cet arbre . . . afin de descendre la rivière Nelson avec leurs fourrures jusqu'au fort York; il est divisé³ de telle façon qu'il forme deux lacs en quelque sorte; le lac de l'ouest qu'il franchit à une circonférence d'environ 100 lieues; le lac de l'est est beaucoup plus grand, au dire des sauvages. La rivière *De vieux hommes* se dirige vers l'est sur un parcours d'environ 200 lieues et tombe dans ce lac . . . son courant est très rapide et l'eau est toujours boueuse . . . Ils mirent trois semaines à cotoyer le côté ouest du lac pour arriver à l'endroit où il se jette dans la rivière *Savanne* ou *Epinette* . . . Au moment où elle sort du lac et pendant les six lieues qui suivent, la rivière est étroite serpentant à travers les marais et se divisant en plusieurs petits cours d'eau; mais un peu plus en aval, ces cours se réunissent et forment une rivière considérable". "Les rives sont basses jusqu'à ce qu'on arrive à la Grande Fourche où la rivière est divisée en deux cours d'eau par un rocher sur lequel pourrait s'élever un fort utile qu'on pourrait isoler en l'entourant d'eau". A partir de "la Grande Fourche", La France descendit le bras de l'est . . . qui se trouvait le plus court chemin, tandis qu'une

¹ Rapport de 1749 p. 228.

² Le lac *Moose* au nord de la Saskatchewan et le lac *Cedar*?

³ Il semble que lorsqu'il écrivit le récit de La France Dobbs confondit le lac Patchegoia (lac des Cèdres?) avec le lac Winnipeg dont le côté ouest est si clairement décrit par LaFrance depuis l'embouchure de la Saskatchewan (la rivière *De vieux Hommes* de LaFrance?) jusqu'à la décharge du lac en passant par la Nelson.

flottille de 100 canots descendait le bras de l'ouest". On peut, du moins, par cette description, constater qu'il s'agit des rivières Nelson et Hayes qui conduisent à la factorerie York.¹

Voilà quelques-uns des détails historiques que le topographe devra interpréter lorsqu'il fera le tracé des voyages par terre d'Henry Kelsey.²

¹ Dobbs op. cit. pp. 29-45. Les pages 243-248 du rapport de 1749 reproduisent le récit de LaFrance.

² Depuis la rédaction de ces lignes la présente introduction fut lue partiellement (sections b, c et e) ainsi qu'un résumé de cette publication des *Papiers de Kelsey* à la séance d'ouverture de la réunion annuelle de la Société d'Histoire du Manitoba le 14 février 1928. Depuis le Dr C. N. Bell a préparé, pour l'assemblée commune de la Société d'Histoire du Canada et la Société d'Histoire du Manitoba qui eut lieu le 24 mai 1928, un travail portant tout particulièrement sur la route que Kelsey suivit en 1690-92. Cette conférence a été publiée depuis sous le titre *The Journal of Henry Kelsey, 1691-1692* (Dawson Richardson Publications Limited, Winnipeg) livre enrichi de précieuses cartes géographiques faisant partie de la collection du Dr Bell.

Voici les principales conclusions du Dr Bell: 1° Le lac Caribou et le lac Pachegoia de LaFrance sont le lac Moose et le lac Cedar (p. 12); 2° Par suite, la pointe Deering doit être sur le lac Cedar (p. 14); 3° Kelsey alla en canot de la pointe Deering à l'embouchure de la rivière Carrot qu'il remonta pendant 28 milles avant de pénétrer le 18 juillet 1691 dans l'intérieur du pays (p. 21); 4° Le "Waskashreeseabee" (le seul nom, ou peu s'en faut, que mentionne Kelsey) atteint le 1er août était la rivière Red Deer, à l'est de la Saskatchewan et à l'ouest du Manitoba qui se déverse dans le lac Winnipeg (p. 31); 5° Pour se rendre de la pointe Deering au fort York, Kelsey passa par le lac Moose (la route de Hendry en 1754 et de Cocking en 1772) et non par la Saskatchewan le lac Winnipeg et la Nelson comme le démontre si clairement le récit de LaFrance.

En ce qui concerne le dernier point, il peut paraître bizarre que pendant les 64 ans qui suivirent le voyage de Kelsey, il ne soit plus question de la route du lac Moose, tandis que les témoignages de Jérémie et de LaFrance semblent clairement indiquer l'autre route. LaFrance va même jusqu'à affirmer que les eaux du lac Moose (est-ce bien là le lac Caribou) coulent vers le nord "puis se répandent et se perdent dans un pays marécageux qu'on ne peut franchir ni par eau ni par terre en été". 64 ans après le voyage de Kelsey, l'objectif de Henry ainsi que celui de Cocking en 1772 était non seulement d'amener les sauvages à la baie mais aussi, comme de juste, de les y conduire en suivant une route de postes canadiens et français établis sur la Saskatchewan.

Il est plus difficile de concilier le départ de Kelsey pour les prairies, après avoir remonté la rivière Carrot pendant 28 milles, avec la localisation de la pointe Deering sur le lac des Cèdres. Dans son *Journal*, Kelsey prétend être parti de la pointe Deering et avoir fait 18 milles le premier jour (le 15 juillet), 25 milles le lendemain, 20 milles le 17 juillet, 8 milles le 18 juillet, en tout 71 milles. Si 28 de ces milles furent franchis en remontant la rivière Carrot, la distance du lac des Cèdres à l'embouchure de la rivière Carrot en suivant la sinueuse Saskatchewan n'aurait donc été que de 43 milles tandis qu'il semble bien qu'il y ait au moins 50 milles en ligne droite entre ces deux points. Hendry qui après être parti du lac Moose, atteignit, en 1754, la Saskatchewan environ à mi-chemin entre le lac Cedar et la Carrot, prétend avoir franchi jusqu'à cette rivière les distances suivantes: 8, 14, 6 et 16 milles, en tout 44 milles. D'après les calculs de M. Douglas secrétaire du Bureau de Géographie du Canada, la distance totale du lac des Cèdres à l'embouchure de la Carrot serait de 71 milles.

M. Hugh Conn de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson qui pour les avoir explorées connaît à fond les régions septentrionales a longtemps soutenu que la pointe Deering se trouvait à Le Pas le seul plateau qui soit sans danger dans cette région qu'arrose la Saskatchewan. Toutefois il s'appuie, lui aussi, sur les données plus récentes relatives à la route du lac Moose sans tenir compte des assertions plus catégoriques que Jérémie et LaFrance firent de leur vivant.

Une telle divergence d'opinions chez les géographes ne permet pas sans doute d'aboutir à une conclusion certaine. Aurons-nous jamais des témoignages formels et probants sur la route de Kelsey. Lorsqu'il quitta la rivière le 18 juillet 1691 il prit "le baril rempli de poudre que le Gouverneur m'avait envoyé et j'en versai une partie dans un sac de cuir que je remplaçai par une hachette, deux brasses de tabac noir, six couteaux, deux échaveaux de ficelle, deux filets, des babioles, et quelques denrées. Après avoir fermé le baril, je le déposai, ainsi que d'autres articles dans un trou creusé dans le sol—ce serait là notre cache jusqu'à notre retour au printemps prochain".

Le lendemain matin, Kelsey "pénétra dans les bois". Il y a tout lieu de croire que le découvreur revint, au cours du printemps suivant, chercher son baril et son canot sinon autres choses quoique, à cette époque, on dut voir assez souvent des canots abandonnés sur les bords de la Saskatchewan ou de la Carrot. Une fois muni d'écorces de bouleau, de cèdre et du "watape" on pouvait construire un de ces canots légers en deux ou trois jours. Mais peut-être le baril ne fut-il jamais déterré. Retrouvera-t-on jamais, comme l'assiette de plomb de La Verendrye découverte sur les bords du Missouri, les 6 couteaux, la hachette et les quelques marchandises de Kelsey qui confirmeront ou renverseront les hypothèses des géographes et des historiens?

NOTE

On a reproduit le texte mot à mot et littéralement en respectant autant que possible les indications de l'original. Quelquefois dans le manuscrit un petit trait sépare une lettre écrite au-dessus de la ligne de celle qui suit; ces traits n'ont pas été ici reproduits. On a fortement souligné les lettres ou les mots qui ont été rayés et on a indiqué au moyen d'astérisques les lettres tellement effacées qu'elles sont devenues illisibles. La fin des lignes est indiquée par le trait: / et la fin des pages par les traits: //. Le Record Office de l'Irlande du Nord fit paginer récemment les feuilles du manuscrit et ces chiffres sont ici mis entre parenthèses.

1690*

Henry Kelsey his Book being y^e Gift of James / Hubbud
in the year of our Lord 1693 /

Now Reader Read for I am well assur'd /
Thou dost not know the hardships I endur'd /
In this same desert where Ever y^t I have been /
Nor wilt thou me believe without y^t thou had seen /
The Emynent Dangers that did often me attend /
But still I lived in hopes y^t once it would amend /
And makes me free from hunger & from Cold /
Likewise many other things w^{ch} I cannot here unfold /
For many times I have often been oppresst /
With fears & Cares y^t I could not take my rest /
Because I was alone & no friend could find /
And once y^t in my travels I was left behind /
Which struck fear & terror into me /
But still I was resolved this same Country for to see /
Although through many dangers I did pass /
Hoped still to undergo y^m, at the Last /
Now Considering y^t it was my dismal fate /
for to repent I thought it now to late /
Trusting still unto my masters Consideration /
Hoping they will Except of this my small Relation /
Which here I have pend & still will Justifie /
Concerning of those Indians & their Country /
If this wont do farewell to all as I may say / /

[2]

And for my living i'll seek some other way /
In sixteen hundred & ninety'th year /

*In the present edition the date of year has been placed at the top of each page for the convenience of the reader.

I set forth as plainly may appear /
 Through Gods assistance for to understand /
 The natives language & to see their land /
 And for my masters interest I did soon /
 Sett from y^e house y^e twealth of June /
 Then up y^e River I with heavy heart /
 Did take my way & from all English part /
 To live amongst y^e ^{Natives} of this place /
 If god permits me for one two years space /
 The Inland Country of Good report hath been /
 By Indians but by English yet not seen /
 Therefore I on my Journey did not stay /
 But making all y^e hast I could upon our way /
 > Gott on y^e borders of y^e stone Indian Country /
 I took possession on y^e tenth Instant July /
 And for my masters I speaking for y^m, all /
 > This neck of land I deerings point did call /
 Distance from hence by Judgement at y^e lest /
 From y^e house six hundred miles southwest /
 Through Rivers w^{ch} run strong with falls /
 thirty three Carriages five lakes in all /
 The ground begins for to be dry with wood /
 Poplo & birch with ash thats very good /
 For the Natives of that place w^{ch}, knows /
 No use of Better than their wooden Bows /
 According to y^e use & custom of this place /
 In September I brought those Natives to a peace /
 But I had no sooner from those Natives turnd my back /
 Some of the home Indians came upon their track /

And for old grudges & their minds to fill //

[3]

Came up with them Six tents of w^{ch}, they kill'd /
 This ill news kept secrett was from me /
 * Nor none of those home Indians did I see /
 Untill that they their murder all had done /
 And the Chief acter was he y^{ts} called y^e Sun /
 So far I have spoken concerning of the spoil /
 And now will give acco.^t of that same Country soile /
 Which hither part is very thick of wood /
 Affords small nutts wth little cherries very good /
 Thus it continues till you leave y^e woods behind /
 And then you have beast of severall kind /
 The one is a black a Buffillo great /
 Another is an outgrown Bear w^{ch}, is good meat /
 His skin to gett I have used all y^e m^eans I can /
 He is mans food & he makes food of man /
 His hide they would not me it preserve /
 But said it was a god & they should Starve /
 This plain affords nothing but Beast & grass /
 And over it in three days time we past /
 getting unto y^e woods on the other side /
 It being about forty sixe miles wide /
 This wood is poplo ridges with small ponds of water /
 there is beavour in abundance but no Otter /
 with plains & ridges in the Country throughout /
 Their Enemies many whom they cannot rout /
 But now of late they hunt their Enemies /

And with our English guns do make y^m, flie /
 At deerings point after the frost /
 I set up their a Certain Cross /
 In token of my being their there /
 Cut out on it y^e date of year /
 And Likewise for to veryfie the same /
 added to it my master sir Edward deerings name /
 So having not* more to trouble you wth all I am /
 Sir your most obedient & faithfull Serv.^t at Command /
 HENRY KELSEY / /

*The "t" has been partially deleted.

A Journal of a voyage & Journey undertaken / by
 henry Kelsey through Gods assistance / to discover
 ✕ & bring to a Commerce the / Naywatame poets in
 Anno 1691 /

July^e 15th Now having Receivd those things in full / w^{ch} y^e
 Governour sent me taketh my depart / from Deerings
 ✕ Point to seek for y^e Stone / Indians w^{ch} were gone ten
 days before we having / but very little victuals
 paddled about 18 Miles / & Came too /

July^e 16th Today setting forward again we went through / a
 little creek were we were forc'd to track / our Cannoes
 into an Island within w^{ch} is great / ponds of water &
 so padling from one to another / from one to another
 through long high grass / w^{ch} grows in near 2 foot water
 this grass hath / an Ear like our English Oats Distance
 today 25 / Miles & came to in a small poplo Island /

July^e 17th We put on our way again paddling still in y^e / same as
 before untill about 3 a Clock in y^e afternoon / & then
 coming to a Carriage near half a Mile / long w^{ch} came
 out at y^e Riverside again y^e Stream / Running very
 strong & having no Sustenance / Whereby to follow
 our Chase we concluded for / to take our Course into
 y^e woods on y^e morrow / having gott about 20 Miles
 today /

July^e 18th Today we paddled up y^e Rivers untill about / noon &
 then we came to a small arm of y^e / River side so we
 concluded to sett our netts / & lay up our Cannoes &
 Rest y^e remaining / part of the day there w^{ch} accordingly

- we did / so I tooked^e y^e Rundlett w^{ch} y^e Governor
 had / / [5] sent me full of powder & emptyed part of
 it into a / leather Bagge so I put one hatchet 2 fathom
 of Blag / Black Tobacco 6 Knives 2 Skains of twine
 two / nettlines one tin show & other small mov^eables /
 into y^e rundlett & headed it up again so we made / a
 hole in the ground & put that & other things / into it
 & put into it so made of it our storehouse / untill we
 came y^t way y^e next spring dist: 8 / miles 3 pikes today /
 July[•] y^{19th} This morning we set forward into the woods / & having
 travelled about 10 Miles pitcht a place / for the tent
 & went out a hunting all Returning / in the Evening
 having kill'd nothing but 2 wood / pattridges & one
 Sq^uirrell /
- July[•] y^{20th} So setting forward again we had not gone / above
 9 Miles but came on y^e track of Indians / w^{ch} we Judged
 had past four Days before so we / went on till we
 came up with their old tents so we / seeing they had
 kill two Beast I thought they / might have had good
 store of victuals & not have / been farr before us I
 sent an Indian before & fitted / him out wth my pipe
 & some tobacco & bid him tell / them to send me some
 relief & likewise for to stay / for me this day we
 travelled about 18 Miles /
- July[•] y^{21st} This morning Setting forward again about / 11 a Clock
 I met with y^t same Indian w^{ch} I had / sent away
 yesterday he telling me he had / seen no Indians so
 I caused another hand / to go away Immediately
 because I was so / heavy Loaded my self y^t I could

not go having / travelled to day near 16 Miles /

July ^e _y 22^d This morning it Rained very hard but hunger / forcing
me to leave my Company I sett forward / with 2
Indians to seek for those Indians ^{ch} w were / / [6] gone
before hoping for to gett some relief of them / by
Estimation 25 Miles /

Now about
July ^e _y 23^d Now about noon one Indian return'd back / fearing
lest ^e y women would starve w ^{ch} were behind / so I gave
him some powder & an Order to receive / some shottth
of such a woman so I proceeded / forward along w a
little slave Boy & toward / night we came to good
footing for all ^t y we had / passed before was heavy
mossy going so in the / Evening wee came too dist
30 Mile & nothing to eat / but one wood patridge /

July ^e _y 24th To day we had very good going & about noon we /
came up w th their tents they had left to day they
having / increas'd from 2 to 7 & their fire not being
quite / out we sat down & roasted 3 Pigeons ^{ch} w I
had kill'd / ^t y morning & so went along again till
about six in ^e y / afternoon we came to their tents
they having / nothing but grass & Berryes to eat
part of w ^{ch} they / gave to me but at night they're
people returning / from hunting one had kill'd 2
Swans & another had / kill'd a Buck Muse but did
not come home till in / ^e y Night so I being asleep he
sent his son to call me / & when he came he told me
^t y his father wanted me / to come & smoke a pipe
with him so I went & when / I came he gave me a
pipe to light & then presented / me w th the great gut

- of y^e Beast afore, so when I had / Eaten I returned to
 my rest having travelled to day / 20 Miles /
- July^e 25th This morning I made a speech desireing y^m for to /
 stay for our people w^{ch} was behind but an Old / man
 came to me & told me y^t it would signify nothing /
 for to lye still seeing y^t there was no victuals to /
 Relieve y^m when they came up so desired leave of / me
 to pitch a little way y^t y^e women might fetch / home
 y^e Beast w^{ch} was kill'd y^e day before y^t they / might
 have wherewithall to relieve y^m when they / came so
 I sent two women back for to help our / women along
 wth their things so we pitched / about 10 Miles &
 came too / / [7]
- July^e 26th To day I bid y^m lie still & go a hunting w^{ch} accordingly /
 they did & those w^{ch} was behind came up wth us in y^e /
 Evening our hunters Likewise coming hhome they /
 having kill'd five Beast /
- July^e the 27th Now we pitcht ag ain & about 10 o Clock came to
 where / one Beast lay to suffice our Hungry Bellies
 & / about 2 o Clock five Indian strangers in y^e
 Afternoon / their came five Indian strangers to our
 tents our / Journey not Extending 7 Miles /
- July^e 28th This Instant y^e Indians having told us their news /
 w^{ch} was y^t they desired of us for to meet y^m at a place
 called / Waskashreeseabee so I told y^m y^t we would
 make as much / hast as we could Conveniently so
 in y^e Evening the / strangers returned to their tents
 we lying still this / day & some of our men went a
 hunting /

July^e
y^{29th} To day we pitched again having no want of / victuals
our hunters yesterday having kill'd some / Beast
to day our Journey not Extending 12 Miles /

July^e
y^{30th} Now we pitched again about ten Miles & came to /
our Indians making a great feast telling y^t they /
were very glad y^t I was returned according to my /
promise for if I should be wanting they should / be
x greatly afraid y^t y^e Nayhaythaways Indians / would
murder y^m & so made me master of y^e feast /

July^e
y^{31th} This morning it Rained very hard so y^e same / Indian
w^{ch} made y^e feast last nigh presented / me wth 17 Beavour
skins & it clearing up in y^e / afternoon we pitched
about 9 Miles & came too /

August^e
y^{1st} Wee pitched again & Gott to the River Afore.^{sd} / where
they appointed to meet us but they being / gone
before we followed their track we travelled / to day
about 15 Miles & came too /

August^e
y^{2^d} Now we followed there track & in the Evening / came
up to y^m they being in number 26 tents & / these
x Indians are called Eagles brich Indians / our Journey
not Extending 18 Miles / / [8]

August^e
y^{3^d} So Being all together we pitched again by reason /
they had no great store of victuals went to day / by
Estimation 15 Miles /

Agust^e
y^{4th} To day we lay still having strangers come to / our
tents from some stone Indians w^{ch} was to y^e / Southward
of us so we made a tent for our / strangers & provided
them something to Eat & / some Tobacco for to smoak
x it so they told us / their news w^{ch} was y^t y^e Nayhaythaways

^ had / lost 3 of their women w^{ch} y^e Naywattame poets
 had / killed^y last spring & withall they appointed
 where / they themselves would meet us but as for^e
 y^e Naywattame / poets they were fled so far y^t they
 thought I should / not see them— /

August
 y^e 5th

Now we pitched again our strangers Likewise /
 Returning to their tents I telling y^m if by any means /
 they could come to a speech of those Naywattame
poets / Indians for to give y^m all y^e Encouragements /
 Immaginable for to come to me & not to fear y^t /
 any one should do y^m any harm so I gave two / pieces
 of tobacco y^e one for their guang y^e other / for y^e
 Naywatame poet if they did see any / of y^m our to day
 12 Miles /

August
 y^e 6th

To day we pitcht to y^t River w^{ch} I have spoken of /
 before w^{ch} is not a hundred yards over & but very /
 shoal water this River breants* away much to y^e /
 Southward & runneth through great part / of the
 Cuntry & is fed by a lake w^{ch} feedeth / another River
 w^{ch} runneth down to y^e Southw / ard of us and is called
Mith**** / Now y^e water w^{ch} runneth down this /
 River is of a Blood red Colour by y^e descripti / on / /
 [9] of those Indians w^{ch} hath seen it w^{ch} makes me to
 think / y^t it may run through some mine or other /
 our Journey this day by Estimation 10 Miles /

August
 the 7th

This Instant pitched up the side of this River /
 afores. & in my Journey to day in Several places I /
 Saw slate mines along the side of this River by /
Estimation dist; 10 Miles /

*Possibly "treants."

- August
the 8th Now lying still I fitted out two Indians for to go /
see If they could find out y^e mountain poets so if /
they found y^m for to tell y^{m t} y I would meet y^m at a place /
w^{ch} was about 40 Miles a head of us & so they departed /
- August
the 9th To day we pitched again still shaping our Course /
along the Riverside it Running or lying up between /
y^e South South west but unnavigable for either boat
or / Canoe y^e Extent of our Journey not Exceeding
16 Miles /
- August
the 10th We pitcht again y^e Indians having kill'd great / store
of Beast today yesterday so where they lay / thickest
we came too dist: 8 Miles /
- August
the 11th This day we lay still for the women to fetch home /
y^e meat & Dress it y^e Indians Likewise feasting & /
making of feasts all y^e day /
- August
y 12th Now we pitcht again & about noon y^e ground / begins
to grow barren heathy & barren in fields of about /
half a Mile over Just as if they had been Artificially /
made with fine groves of Poplo growing round y^m we /
went to day by Estimation 10 Miles /
- August
y 13th It Raining very hard caused us to lye still to day /
August
y 14th This day we pitched again y^e Ground Continuing /
as before But no fir growing the wood being for y^e /
most part poplo & Birch having travelled to day
12 / Miles came too / / [10]
- August
y 15th This Instant one Indian Lying a dying & withall /
a murmuring w^{ch} was amongst the Indians Because /
I would not agree for y^m to go to warrs so I taking it /
into Consideration cut some tobacco & call'd all y^e /

- Old dons to my tent telling y^m y^t it was not y^e way /
 for y^m to have the use of English guns & other things /
 & y^t I nor they should not go near y^e Govern^r. unless /
 they ceast from warring so lay still to day /
- August^e y^o 16th Now not knowing w^{ch} would Conquer life or Death /
 lay still to day our people going a hunting but / had
 small success /
- August^e y^o 17th Last night death ceased & this morning his body /
 was burned according to their way they making A /
 great feast for him y^t did it now after y^t y^e flesh / was
 burned his Bones were taken & buried wth Loggs / set
 up rouⁿd of about ten foot Long so we pitcht to /
 day near 14 Miles & came to they holding it not good /
 to stay by y^e Dead /
- August^e y^o 18th This day I sent two Indians for to seek for those /
 w^{ch} I had sent before to see for y^e Mountain poets /
 fearing lest they should have come to any damage /
 being so long absent so we pitched y^e ground /
 Continuing as formerly dist 8 Miles /
- August^e y^o 19th Now we sett forward again y^e ground being more /
 Barren then it use to be y^e Indians having seen /
 great store of Buffillo But kill'd none by Estim^eat / ion
 12 Miles /
- August^e y^o 20th To day we pitcht to y^e outtermost Edge of y^e woods /
 this plain affords Nothing but short Round / sticky
 grass & Buffillo & a great ^{sort} s_Λor^e of a Bear w^{ch} / is Bigger
 then any white Bear & is Neither White / nor Black
 But silver hair'd like our English / Rabbit y^e Buffillo
 Likewise is not like those to y^e / Northward their

Horns growing like an English / Ox but Black &
short dist: 6 Miles / / [11]

August This day we lay Expecting a post from ^ey mountaine /
 ^ey 21st poets but none came /

August Now we pitched into the barren ground it being very /
 ^ey 22^d dry heathy land & no water but here & there a small /
 pond so we came to but could not see ^ey woods on
 ^ey / other side dist 16 Miles /

August This Instant ^ey Indians going a hunting Kill'd / great
 ^ey 23^d store of Buffillo Now ^ey manner of their hunting /
 these Beast on ^ey Barren ground is when they see a
 great / parcel of them together they surround them
 thw men ^{ch}w done / they gather themselves into a smaller
 Compass Keeping / ^ey Beast still in ^ey middle & so
 shooting ^my till they / break out at some place or other
 & so gett away from / ^my our women Likewise pitching
 according to order / dist 12 Miles /

August This day lay still waiting for a post ^{ch}w came in ^ey
 ^ey 24th afternoon / from ^ey Capt: of the Mountain Poets
 Named Washa / so ^ey Substance of their news was
 ^ty he desired we would / meet him when we pitcht
 again so I told ^my I would /

August So pitching again we came to altogether & in number
 ^ey 25th we / were 80 Tents we having travelled to day by
 Estimation / 12 Miles yet not reacht ^ey woods on ^ey
 other side this plain / running through great part of
 ^ey Country & lyeth along / near East & west /

August Now we are altogether they made a feast ^ey which
 ^ey 26th they / Invited me to so they desired leave of me for

^my to go to wars but / I told ^{m t}y y I could not grant ^my
their request for ^ey Govern^r. would / not allow me so
to do so we lay still to day /

August
y^e 27th To day we pitched again & got to ^ey woods on ^ey other
side ^ey / Plain being about 46 miles over our Journey
not Extending / 6 miles /

August
y^e 28th This day we lay still ^ey Indians being willing for to go
hunt / Buffillo because there is none of these Beast
in ^ey woods so / I condescended to it so I called six
Indians & fitted ^my out wth / tobacco & powder & shott
& bid ^my go seek for some Naywatame / poets & if so
be ^ty they found ^my I would Reward ^my sufficiently / / [12]

August
y^e 29th This Instant we lay still for ^ey women to fetch home /
Meat & dress it our Indians Likewise going a Beavour /
hunting for in these woods there is abundance of
small / ponds of water of which there is hardly one
Escapes without / a Beavour house or two our people
having kill'd great store / to day /

August
y^e 30th Now we pitched again directing our Course into the
woods it / being all poplo & birch & high Champion
land wth ponds / as afore. our Indians dispercing
themselves some ahunt / ing of beast & some of
beavour Dist 8 Miles /

August
y^e 31st This day ^ey Indians made a feast desireing of me to
be a post / to a parcel of Indians w^{ch} was to ^ey Northward
of us to desire ^my / to stay for us telling me ^ty my word
would be taken before / an Indians although he went
so we lay still to day /

September
y^e 1st Now being in their Enemies Country I had eight

Indians / for my conduct one of w^{ch} Could speak both
 Languages for to / be my interpreter so set forward
 & having travelled to day / near 30 miles in y^e Evening
 came to in a small poplo Island / w^{ch} standeth out
 from y^e main Ridge of woods because these / Indians
 are greatly afraid of their Enemies /

Sept^r. This morning Setting forward again it Proved very /
 y^e 2^d bad weather & by reason of so many beaten paths
 w^{ch} y^e / Buffillo makes we lost y^e track so I filled two
 pipes / of Tobacco according to their way so I
 speaking to / two young men to go seek for y^e track
 & when I h** / had Ended my speech I gave Each
 of y^m a pipe to light / so they departed & it being cold
 we made a fire but a / great parcel of Buffillo appearing
 in sight we / gave y^m Chase & by y^e way found y^e track
 & in y^e Eveni / ng came up wth y^m we travelled to day
 by Estimation 25 Miles /

September This morning they provided a feast for me to hear /
 y^e 3^d t I had to say so told y^m, my message w^{ch} was to stay /
 for those w^{ch} I came from now I understanding their /
 drift was to come altogether for to go to wars so I told /
 y^m t y^e they must not go to wars for it will not be liked /
 by y^e governor neither would he trade with y^m if they /
 did not cease from warring / / [13]

Sept^r. To day I sent two Indians back for to tell our people
 the 4th for / to make w^t hast they could to me I tarrying
 for to there my / self for to hear w^t News some
some young men brought w^{ch} went / from thence
 three days before I came for to look for their Enemies /

- Sept^r.
the 5th About ten o Clock this morning y^e young men appearing
in sight & / crying out^{Just} like a Crane w^{ch} gave a sign
y^t they had discovered their / Enemies & as soon as
they came within one hundred yards of y^e tent they /
Enem
sat all down in a Row upon the grass not speaking
one word so y^e old / Men lighting their pipes went to
y^m & served y^m round Crying as / if they had been stob'd
for Joy they had found their enemies y^e / young men
having brought some old arrows to verifie w^t they /
had been about /
- Sept^r.
y^e 6th This Instant I unclosed y^e pipe w^{ch} y^e governour had
sent me / telling y^m y^t they must Employ their time in
Catching of beav / our for y^t will be better liked on
then their killing their Enem / ies when they come
to y^e factory neither was I sent there for / to kill
any Indians but to make peace wth as many as I could /
but all my arguments prevailed nothing wth y^m for they
told me / w^t signified a peace wth those Indians considering
they knew not / y^e use of Cannoes & were resolved to go
to wars so I seeing it in vain I / held my peace /
- Sept^r.
y^e 7th This day we pitcht again & got through y^e woods this
ledge not / being above 30 Miles through but we made
it a great deal more by reason / we kept in it for to
hunt beavour & to come altogether / this plain being
in y^e same Nature of y^e other w^{ch} we had past before /
our Journey not Extending 10 Miles /
- Sept^r.
y^e 8th Now likewise we pitched again & by y^e way met wth
those Indians w^{ch} / I came post from & so came
too altogether this afternoo came four / Indian

strangers from those w^{ch} are called Naywatame po^ets^m
 y^e w^{ch} / I receiv'd very kindly & made much of y^m
 Likewise our own people / returning w^{th m} y so I inquired
 where there Cap.^t was they giving me / an acco.^{t t} y he
 was two days Journey behind our Journey to day /
 not Extending 8 Miles /

Sept^r.
 y^e 9th This morning I went to y^e Cap.^t of y^e stone Indians
 tent carry / ing wth me a piece of tobacco I telling him
 to make a speech to all / his Country men & tell y^m
 not to disturbe nor meddle w^{th e} y / Naywattame poets^m
 for I was going back to Invite & incourage / y^m to a
 peace once more so they all gave their Consent &
 told me / y^t they were very free to have y^m to be their
 friends so I took my / way back along wth those w^{ch}
 came yesterday having 12 tents along / wth me our
 Journey to day 18 Miles / / [14]

Sept^r.
 y^e 10th This day setting out again my strangers told me they
 would / go before & give an acco^{t t} y I was coming
 because they could make / better way to their tents
 then I could so we travell'd till night & / came to
 dist 20 Miles /

Sept^r.
 y^e 11th Now setting forward again about noon came up wth
 their track / & in y^e Evening came too altogether they
 being in number 11 tents / our Journey not Extending
 16 Miles /

Sept^r.
 y^e 12th This morning having no victuals to invite y^e cap.^t to
 so I filled / y^t pipe w^{ch e} y Govern.^r had sent me wth tobacco
 & then sent for y^e Cap.^t / So then I made a speech to
 him & told him y^t he should not mind / w^t had passed

formerly as concerning y^e nayhaythaways killing / Six
 tents of his Country men & for y^e future we English
 will / seek for to prevent it going any further for if
 so be they / did so any more y^e Govern^r. says he will
 not trade w^{th m} y / if they did not cease from killing his
 friends & when I / had done I presented him wth a
 present coat & sash Cup & / one of my guns wth knives
 awls & tobacco wth small quantities / of powder &
 shott & part of all such things as y^e Govern^r. / had
 sent me so he seemed to be very well pleased & told
 me / he had forgott^t wth had past although they had
 kill'd most of / his kindred & relations & likewise
 told me he was sorry he / had not wherewithall for
 to make me Restitution for w^t / I had given him but
 he would meet me at Deerings point / y^e next spring
 & go wth me to y^e factory but it happened in / the winter
 after I had parted wth them y^e Nayhaythaways / came
 up w^{th m} y & killed two of y^{m ch} w^m struck a new fear into /
 y^{m t} y they would not venture down fearing lest y^e home /
 Indians would not let y^m up again into their own
 Country so / when I was at Deerings point in the spring
 w^{ch} is y^e place / of resortance when they are coming
 down to trade upon / y^e arrivall of some indians I had
 news brought me y^{t e} y^{Cap^t. r} ** ^ **. / afores. had sent me
 a pipe & steam of his own making & withall /
 y^e news of their being kill'd as I have spoken of before /
 yet if so be I would send him a piece of tobacco from
 y^e factory / upon y^e return of y^e same indians he would
 certainly come / down y^e next year But if not y^e

beavour in their Cuntry are / unnumerable & will
certainly be brought down every year / so having not
to inlarge sir I remain your obedient / & faithfull
Serv.^t /

HENRY KELSEY / / [15]

Now I shall according to y^e best of my knowledge
give / an Acco.^t of those Indians belief & Superstitions
in their / ways & how they make use of them - - - - - /
Their first & Chiefest point is A piece of Birch / rine
full of Feathers of Divers sorts put on a piece / of
Leather w^{ch} is broad at one End for to tie about their /
head at such a sort y^t y^e remaining part shall hang /
down over their back this they put to use when their /
Enemies are in sight believing y^t it will save y^m from /
being kill'd, It being not y^e work of their own hands /
But of their father or some other old man near kin to /
y^m This thing is called by their name Wessguaniconan /
w^{ch} in time of use is accompanied wth songs made by y^e /
same man w^{ch} made y^e other w^{ch} songs are Called Wonny /
seewahiggens so much for the first point /

Their second point is Concerning A pipe steam / done
wth feathers of Divers sorts & near y^t end w^{ch} goeth /
into y^e mouth is three vouter or Eagles feathers split
& / lay'd on like y^e feathers of an arrow Now every
one of / these & all things Else belonging to the steam
Afore.^{sd} / hath a speech belongs to every one of y^m as y^e
makers / fancy leads him Now there is but very few
Indians / but w^t are beading Indians y^t can get one of

these pipes / & when he hath a mind to go to warrs or
any other / way he calls all of y^m together & tells y^m
his mind so / then he Lights his pipe & serveth y^m
Round Crying / Now their Custom is to take but four
Whiffs of / those pipes & if any one hath not a mind
to go wth him / nor answer his request he will Likewise
refuse to / smoke out of his pipe & again if any man
hath made / use of a woman y^e last night or his wife
be wth Child / he will pass by the pipe & give thanks
if he has a / Mind to go wth him for they think they shall
adulter / ate y^e pipe if they should smoke out of it at
such / a time Likewise they will send these pipes out
upon / any expedition as when they go for to seek out
their / Enemies tracks or when y^t they are in want of /
victuals they will fitt a young man out wth a pipe /
steam & if it happens y^t it fulfills w^t they design then /
it doth pass for a true god Ever afterwards although
it / hath been never so false before // [16]

The next point being their third is when they are in
want / of any thing but victuals especially in y^e night
they will / cause y^e tent to be made Close & y^e fire to
thrown out of / doors Likewise y^e women must be
absent so all things / being dark & husht one of y^e
Indians will begin to make / a speech w^{ch} Endeded he
will fall a singing till such / time he thinks he has
pleasured y^e Company & then / will begin for to
Whistle Making his fellows / believe y^t he hath a
familiar they believing it to / be so to so by y^t means
he will answer y^m to any ques / tion they shall ask

him & will tell y^m w^{ch} way they sha^{ns} / shall go to look for
 victuals or to find other india^{ns} / & this y^e Natives
 holds for truth but I have found it / often to be lyes /
 Now their fourth point is if any of y^m be sick they /
 use no other means nor know no other help but to /
 sing to y^e sick for w^{ch} purpose they hire a man & he /
 calls together some men more or less for to accompa /
 nie him in his singing so all of y^m getting a piece / of
 birch Rine & a little stick goes to the sick mans tent /
 then he y^{ts} hired begins to sing & y^e Rest Beats upon
 y^e / Rine y^e same stroke he uses wth his rattle w^{ch} is made
 of / Birch rine hallow within having some stones or /
 Beads Inclosed in it so when he has sat & sung a /
 while to his patient he y^{ts} hired will rise up stark /
 naked making a hideous noise & having there / ready
 a Dish of Cold water takes a mouthfull / of it & spurts
 on y^e sick person so following / it Close wth his mouth
 sucks at his skin & / Rising from him again halls
 drugs or something / out of his mouth so makes his
 fellows believe he / suckt it out of y^e sick person, &
 indeed is hard to be / perceiv'd to y^e Contrary Now
 in such times they / will take y^e best things they have^{ch}
 & hang upon / / [17] Poles as an offering to him w^e
 was y^e cause of his sickness / Likewise making along
 speech desiring of him to send him / his health again
 Now as for a woman they do not so much / mind her
 for they reckon she is like a Slead dog or / Bitch
 when she is living & when she dies they think / she
 dyes to Eternity but aman they think departs / into

another world & lives again /
 Then their fifth point is this If at any time they are /
 in want of victuals they will fitt a young man out wth /
 something of their own making as it may be half a /
 dozen peruant stones^{ch} w they have gott from y^e factory /
 or Else a pipe steam now these pruant stones they /
 scrape smooth & burn spots, or y^e shape of any thing /
 as their fancy leads y^m now if happens y^t this young
 man / w^{ch} is fitted out should kill a Beast y^t day then
 they / will impute it to y^e things he carried about him
 & / so it passes for a God Ever afterwards But now
 no / Beast they kill but some part or other is allotted /
 for mans meat w y^{ch e} women are not to tast of upon no /
 acco^t, but more especially at this time then others by /
 reason they think it will be a hindrance to their /
 Killing any more Beast nay if a woman should eat /
 any of this mans mans meat w^{ch} is called in their Langu /
 age Crett * * tgh Cuttawatchetaugun & fall sick in a /
 year or 2 afterwards & dye they will not stick to say /
 it was y^t kill'd her for all it was so long ago she eat it /
 Their sixth point I shall relate is concerning / their
 singing of their songs & from whence they think /
 they have y^m those that they reckon Chiefly for gods
 are / Beast & fowl But of all Beast y^e Buffillo & of all
 fowls / y^e vouter & y^e Eagle w^{ch} they say they dream of
 in their / sleep & it relates to y^{m t} w they shall say when
 they sing / & By y^t means whatsoever they ask or
 require will be gran / ted or given y^{m ch} w by often making
 use of it sometimes happe / ns to fall out Right as

they say & for ^ty one time it will / pass for a truth ^ty
 he hath a familliar although he / hath told never so
 many lies before & so by their / / [18] singing will
 pretend to know ^w_^ ^ey firmament of heaven is ^m_{th} /
 made of nay some Indians ^{ch}w I have discoursed thw has
 told me they / have been there & seen it so likewise
 another has told me ^ty he / had been so near ^{to}_^ ^ey sun
 at ^ey going down ^ty he had been so could / take hold
 of it when it Cut ^ey Horrizon Likewise they would /
 pretend to tell me by their singing how things stood
 at ^ey / factory when I was many hundred miles of along
^{th m}w y but / I found it not true ————— /
 Now there is a Difference between ^ey stone Indians &
^ey / Nayhaythaways although ^ey principles of their
 belief is / all one & ^ey same But I mean as to passages
 in their tents / ^{ch}w I shall give some small relation of
 I having been amongst / ^ey stone Indians of late will
 begin ^{th m}w y first Now if they / have a mind for to make
 a feast they will pitch a tent / on purpose & after
^t_^ ^ey y tent is made & fixt then no woman / Kind ^ty hath
 a husband or is known to have been concern'd / thw a
 man must not come within the door of ^ey tent afore. /
^{sd}so then ^ey master of ^ey tent & one or two more goeth
 in & Cutteth / out a place for ^ey fire about three foot
 square in ^ey middle / of ^ey tent & then ^ey fire being
 made they take a little / sweet grass & lay at every
 corner of ^ey said square & / then putting fire to it they
 perfume the tent so / making along speech wishing all
 health & / happiness both to founders & confounders

this / being done y^e master burning a little more sweet /
 grass then taketh a pipe fill'd wth tobacco & perfum / eth
 it so giveth it to another Indian telling him / who he
 shall call to y^e feast so then he goeth / out of doors &
 those w^{ch} are appointed he calls by name / two or 3
 times over & then returning into y^e tent / again lights
 the pipe w^{ch} was given him y^e pipe being / lighted he
 turneth y^t end w^{ch} goeth into y^e mouth / to w^t place y^e
 master of y^e feast shall direct him w^{ch} / generally first
 towards our English house & from / thence moving it
 round gradually towards y^e sun / rising & so about
 to * * * * where y^e sun is at noon / still keeping in
 motion to where y^e sun goeth down / & then turneth
 y^t end w^{ch} goeth into y^e mouth toward / y^e ground so
 lighting it y^e second time handeth it / round to his
 companions & as they receive it they // [19] give
 thanks so when they are all gathered together / y^e
 master will have some victuals & some tobacco ready /
 cut wth w^{ch} they will sing & be merry as we do over a
 Cup / of good liquor now they have but two or three
 Words in / a song & they observe to keep time along
 wth him y^t is / y^e leader of y^e song for Every man maketh
 his own songs / by vertue of w^t he dreams of as I have
 said before & / at y^e Conclusion of every song they
 give thanks all / in general to him y^t y^e song belongs
 too So likewise if / any one hath crost or vext them
 y^t they owe him / any grudge they will pretend to set
 w^t they dream / of to work & it shall kill the offender
 at his pleasure /

Torn out*

/
 nor step over a man boy nor Child for if at any time /
 they should happen to stride over any one & y^e /
 person fall sick at any time after they will impute /
 it to be y^e reason of it & likewise when they are / sick
 they will call themselves to remembrance / to see if
 y^t they have eat any thing w^{ch} has been forbid / den
 y^m to eat & if it happened by force of hunger / they
 have eat w^t has been forbidden y^m then presently / y^t is
 y^e cause of their sickness & if they should dye / y^t fitt
 they still think that is the cause of it /

A Journal of a voyage & Journey undertaken / by
 Henry Kelsey to discover & Endeavour to bring / to
 a Commerce y^e nothern Indians Inhabiting to y^e /
 Northward of Churchill River & also y^e dogside
 Nation /
 June y^e 17th 1689 /

June
 y^e 17th
 Munday
 1689

I took my depart.^r from Churchill River in y^e Hopewell /
 shallop Commanded by Capt: James young & my
 Companion / w^{ch} was appointed by my Governor y^e
 wind being at south /
 Torn out till the 26th /

Leagues before we was forc'd ashore by y^e Ice now /
 we Judged our selves to be about 20 Leagues from /
 Churchill River /

y^e 26th
 Munday

This morning y^e Ice being nearer than before I told /
 y^e Cap. y^t tediousness of getting along shore wth y^e /
 boat troubled me & I thought I could make better /
 way by land so desired leave y^e Cap. to let me go / / [20]

*This and other similar entries are in the original hand.

†Possibly "y".

^{ch}w he Consented I should sett forward on ^ey morrow
 upon / this gave me my Instructions ^{ch}w he had from
 my Govern^r / Govern^r. at Hays river /

June
^ey 27th
 Tuesday

This day by gods assistance set forward by land so /
 desired Cap. young to let 2 of his hands go to carry
 some / things till I could hide ^my because we carry ^my all
 accord / ingly they did this done we parted & in our
 Journey we / found five targets Made of Boards six
 Inches wide / & Sowed together till they were about
 2 foot over & then / cut round like ^ey head of a Cask
 so wth a string in ^ey middle / to hang over their arm
 distance 12 Miles to day /

^ey 28th
 Wednesday

This morning set forward but my dog run back to /
 cap. youngs tent so bid my Companion stay till I
 went / back to fetch him when I came I left ^ty & took
^ey other / w^{ch} my Governour had appointed me & when
 I was at ^ey tent / Satisfied ^ey Cap. concerning ^ey smoke
 we made ^ey day / before because it was to be a sign
 we found a River so / returned to my Companion /

^ey 29th
 Thursday

This days Journey most part ponds & hills we being /
 near 8 Miles from ^ey seaside about ten o'Clock found /
 an old Cannoe of those nothern Indians abundance /
 of Musketers & at night could not gett wood Enough
 for to / make a smoke to Clear ^my came to dist
^{23 Miles no sight /}
13 [^] Miles woods in sig /

^ey 30th
 Friday

To day we travelled all within Land it being all hills /
 & more barren then before ^ey hills being all stones
thw / a coat of moss over ^my came to dist 18 Miles /

July
^ey 1st
 Saturday

This morning set forward it being hills & ponds w^{ch} /

would put us out of our way 2 or 3 Miles although /
we went good days Journey it did not seem so dist
18 / Miles /

[•]
^y 2^d
Sunday

The same going as before at noon it Rained hard /
having no shelter but ^ey heavens for a Canope / nor
no wood to make a fire came dist 12 Miles /

[•]
^y 3^d
Monday

This day setting forward more hilly then before & /
more Rocky than before came to one ^ey top of one
where / we could see ^ey sea dist 16 Mile & from ^ey
sea 6 Miles /

[•]
^y 4th
Tuesday

To day set forward till about noon it Rained very
hard / caused us to come to dist 8 Miles / / [21]

[•]
^y 5th
Wednesday

Now we intended to go to ^ey sea side for better going
but / found ^ey same & foggy by reason of ^ey Ice toward
night / came to ^ey Boy not suffering me to speak aloud
in pretence / ^ey Eskemoes would hear us dist 16 Miles /

[•]
^y 6th
Thursday

To day continued foggy & Could not gett my
Companion / to go further w^{ch} was ^ey first I perceived
of his backward / ness so came to dist 5 Mile /

[•]
^y 7th
Friday

To day had very good going till about noon coming /
to an outlet & trying to get over at several places but /
could not so tarried there ^ey night dist 10 Miles /

[•]
^y 8th
Saturday

This morning got over ^ey River 3 Mile up this River /
is a high round hummock being ^ey best landmark we /
have seen /

[•]
^y 9th
Sunday

Setting forward good weather & going as it were on /
a Bowling green in ^ey Evening spyed two Buffillo /
left our things & pursued ^my we Kill'd one they are
ill / shapen beast their Body being bigger than an

ox leg / & foot like ^ey same but not half so long a long neck & / head a hog their Horns not growing like other Beast / but Joyn together upon their forehead & so come down / ^ey side of their head & turn up till ^ey tips be Even ^{th e}w ^ey / Buts their Hair is near a foot long this being ^ey first / Killing of Beast since we left ^tCap. young so went / back to our things our Journey not Extending 10 / Miles /

July
^ey 10th
Munday

To day carried our things to where ^ey Beast lay / & to argue why he would go no further he answer'd / ^ey Summer was to far spent & ^ty his Country people was / gone to far to ^ey northward for fear of ^ey southern / Indians ^ty it would be hard finding of ^my but if ^ty ^tCap. / young could have carryed him to ^ty River ^{ch}w they call / Buffillo River he did not question finding of ^my dist / 3 Mile /

^ey 11th
Tuesday

This day through many perswasions gott him to / go ten Miles & then he told me I was a fool & ^ty he woul / ^ewould go no further for I was not sensible of ^ey dangers / we had to go through so came to dist 10 Miles /

^ey 12th
Wednesday

This morning he told me he would go no further so I / thought it needless to spend my time in vain resolv'd to / make ^ey best of my way to Churchill River to give a* / ^tacco. of it & to do something more servicable for ^m* / Masters so Returned back dist: 21 Miles / / [22]

^ey 13th
Thursday

This day finding our Burdens heavy concluded to leave / some things for a mark so left 1 Bottle of Powder & / some shott 2 Ice Chizzels 4 hatchets on

^ey top of a flatt / stone so setting forward saw two
Buffillo & kill'd one / dist 17 Miles /

^ey 14th
Friday

To day we had level going till four in ^ey afternoon /
it began to grow hilly & Rain'd very hard so came to /
& made a tent of moss dist 19 Miles /

^ey 15th
Saturday

It Rained hard most part of ^ey day yet travelled ^ey /
Hills trent to ^ey sea side & makes it bold to for it /
flowes 5 fathom steep up & down dist 17* Miles /

^ey 16th
Sunday

Now setting forward we found it hilly & more / barren
then within land dist 22 Miles /

^ey 17th
Monday

To day at noon Came to for to kill deer my partner /
kill'd five & I four dist 18 Miles /

^ey 18th
Tuesday

This day we gott to ^ey place where cap.^t young put /
us ashore at four this afternoon broke open our store /
house & went to carry ^ey things over ^ey River having /
made a Raft of all ^ey wood we could gett but it would /
not Carry us & the things goods so put ^ey Boy & things /
on it & swim'd over it my my self being very cold /
came to dist 24 Miles /

^ey 19th
Wednesday

To day ^ey woods appear in sight about ten o Clock /
it Rain'd hard wth thunder & Lightening so we came /
to being ^ey first place of shelter we had found / since
we left Cap.^t young dist 5 Miles /

July
^ey 20th
Thursday

This day very bad going on great pibble stones /
wth great ponds of water three or four Mile over /
toward evening good going came too dist 14 Miles /

^ey 21st
Friday

This morning had very good going on hard mud /
wth great stones at three this afternoon came too / an
outlett & came too dist 16 Miles /

[•]
y 22^d
Saturday

This morning tryed to gett over y^e mouth of it but /
could not so left our things there & went up y^e river /
to Raft our selves over & to fetch y^{m th} w a Boat from /
Churchill River so finding a good place of wood /
came too dist 15 Miles / / [23]

the 23^d
Sunday

To day it Rain'd hard & we had forgott our lines / so
I went to fetch y^m & Returned to him in y^e Evening /

[•]
y 24th
Monday

This morning made a Raft & got over to an / Island^{ch}
w we thought had been y^e south shore but / had not
gone a Mile before we came to another / Channel^{ch}
w seemed to be worse then y^e first so made / a Raft
against next morning /

[•]
y 25th
Tuesday

To day put from y^e shore it being dreadfull to behold /
y^e falls we had to pass Considering we had nothing to /
tye our Raft but small Logline & were forct to / shoot
3 Desperate falls y^e Raft struck upon two / of y^m but
gott safely over dist $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile /

[•]
y 26th
Wednesday

Now setting forward went by y^e hummock w^{ch} Cap.^t /
Young was speaking of w^{ch} stands on y^e south side /
of y^e River travelled to day till we raised y^e high land /
of Churchill river & y^e woods being Near y^e water /
side came too dist 20 Miles /

[•]
y 27th
Thursday

This morning went on our way but meeting wth /
many small creeks hindred us greatly at tide time /
gott to day 9 Mile /

[•]
y 28th
Friday

To day at noon being upon y^e high rocks of Chur /
chill River saw y^e ship so went against her & made /
a smoke but it being low water they could not come /
to me so they put one hand ashore who told me there /

was a house a Building & at tide time went on /
board wth him dist 14 Miles /

•
yth 29
Saturday

To day I Rested on Board /

•
yth 30
Sunday

This day I went up wth a Boat to y^e house & / thomas
savage told me y^t y^e Governor had order'd / me to
tarry there w^{ch} I Refused by Reason I had a / mind
to go for England I spoke to Thomas / savage
Concerning those things w^{ch} I had left / & desired him
to speak to some to go wth me to fetch / y^m but he
answered he would not so I asked who / would go so
Edw.^d Pratt Edw.^d Bull Isaac hubbud / Ely gramer &
Tho.^s Harris would go wth me /

July
•
yth 31
Munday

This noon tide we set from y^e ship to fetch y^e things /
so Rowed & sailed all night y^e wind being between /
y^e south & y^e East / / [24]

August
•
yth 1st
Tuesday

This morning att day saw y^e hummock about two /
Leagues from us so getting to y^e place where y^e things /
could not find a place to leave y^e Boat while we /
fetcht y^m but was forct to ride her of wth one hand / till
we fetcht y^m so put y^m in y^e Boat & put away / but had
not gott three Leagues f * * before it Blow'd / hard &
Night coming on put ashore seeing some / Deer I
kill'd one & fetcht it to y^e tent this Evening /

•
y^d 2^d
Wednesday

To day y^e weather Continuing y^e same we put / away
& Rowed to windward all day & at night / came to
anchor near y^e shore wth y^e high Land of / Churchill
River in sight /

•
y^d 3^d
Thursday

This day Rowed across y^e Bay & saved y^e afternoon /
tide to y^e ship & y^e first news we heard was y^t y^e / house

^e th
y 4
Friday

was Reduced to ashes & y^t most of y^e things / were
Burnt so I took my things & put y^m in my Chest /
This day y^e rest of y^e things were fetcht on / board
from y^e house /

^e th
y 5
Saturday

This day broke ground from Churchill River / Intending
by gods assistance for Hays River y^e / wind being at
North Turn it out & sailed all night /

^e th
y 6
Sunday

This morning left of Raining & came on / foggy & we
saw breakers both within & without / us but Edging
towards y^e outtermost gott clear / & in y^e afternoon
came to anchor in y^e mouth of / Portnelson & Rid
y^e night /

^e th
y 7
Munday

To day y^e wind dullered & at tide time stood for /
Hayes River & at Night came to anchor in y^e mouth /
of it /

^e th
y 8
Tuesday

To day got to y^e house & as soon as I could get a /
shore I went to y^e Govern.^r taking y^e Indian Boy /
wth me & acquainted him how I had been serv'd by /
him y^e Governors reply was y^t I had my labour / for
my travell since y^t y^e Govern.^r Never did Require /
any further acco.^t of me /

HENRY KELSEY / / [25]

1694-1696

York fort hayes River August y^e 8th 1694 /
M^r Smith /

This is to satisfie you y^t we are safe arived praised
be / god for it I understand y^e albemarle was sent for /
Churchill river but meeting wth much ice was drove /
to y^e southward of this place had like to have been
lost / but by providence was saved arrived some small
time / before us as for other things all is very well &
a good trade / y^e w^{ch} I hope will continue likewise hoping
your / honour will not forgett him who hath
Endeavour'd / for it Tho^s. Hart hath been guilty of
a private / trade w^{ch} you will have a larger acco^t. from
y^e gover / govern^r. & as for my own part I shall neither
do nor / act on any discovery untill I receive further /
orders from my masters in England then shall be /
very free to use y^e utmost endeavours for as much /
as I find no alterations yet but shall be more / able to
give you a larger Epistle y^e next Return / hoping to
receive a line or two from your honour / by y^e next
as for my keeping a Journal I cannot by / Reason I
am lik^ely to abroad as much as at home so / having
not to inlarge I Rest /

your obedient & fath /

faithfull Serv^t. / HERNRY KELSEY /

If you please to inquire of y^e / Bearer he can better
Inform / you of anything than I can at present / / [26]

Memmorandum in y^e hudsons bay frigatt /

Being tuesday we weigh'd from gravesend & fell down /

June
y^e 2^d
1696

June
y 7th
Sunday

to y^e lower end of y^e hope & came to anchor /
Weigh'd from y^e lower end of y^e hope & about 7 in y^e
Evening / going by y^e man of war Rideing at y^e nore
having / taken in our pendants & lower'd our topsailes
he / fired six guns at us & sent his boat on board
cap.^t / Bayley to dem.^d money for his shot so in y^e
mouth / of y^e swin came to anchor Cap.^t Bayley Sent
his / Boat to fetch M.^r Man w^{ch} y^e man of wars boat
had / carryed away wth y^m it Blowing very hard y^e
deerings / Boat could not gett aboard again /

June
y 8th
Monday

Our Boat went aboard y^e man of war to gett news / of
y^e Deerings Boat y^e ships weighed Likewise & bore /
up to y^e man of war till high water so turn'd to /
windward seeing y^e Deerings Boat coming of shore /
& about half tide came a ground on us* and called
y^e / mouse at 11 att night being a quarter flood gott /
into y^e Channel & came to anchor /

June
y 9th
Tuesday

This morning set saile & in y^e Evening came to y^e /
Men of war at albourough so came to anchor /

June
y 13th
Saturday

This afternoon sailed from alborough & in y^e / Evening
came to y^e other Man of war of Lastaf / & came to
anchor /

June
y 14th
Sunday

About four this morning weighed again & in y^e /
afternoon came to anchor in y^e offing to y^e northward /
about an hours time /

June
y 15th
Monday

This day y^e Commadore gave our Cap.^t Instructions /
for making of signes /

June
y 16th
Tuesday

This day it Blowed hard we saw two saile but / did
not speak wth y^m /

June
y[•] 17th
Wednesday This morning saw two sail & in y^e afternoon one / sail
more to w^{ch} y^e seaford gave Chase but soon left / of &
in y^e Evening saw y^e land of aberdeen / / [27]

June
y[•] 18th
Thursday This morning stood Close to y^e land y^e fishing boats /
came of to us of we bought some parcels of fish sm* /
brease of wind stood of & on all day here came a
master / of a new England Briggantine who told us he
was / chast in there by three french privateers two
of abo / about 30 guns y^e other a small vessell /

June
y[•] 18th 19th
Thursday This morning was of Backeness & about noon our /
3 Cap.^{ts} met on board y^e Deering & in y^e Evening came /
aboard again /

June
y[•] 20th
Saturday To day Cap. Bayley Invited all y^e Command.^{rs} /
aboard to dinner where they remained till Evening /
calm wth small breezes this two days past /

June
y[•] 21st
Sunday This morning was of Canards head wth small / bre^ezes
of wind att North & N N W till Evening & / then
came up a fresh gale northerly we reefed / three
topsails /

June
y[•] 22^d
Munday To day y^e Deering left of towing y^e knight & / y^e
Bonadventure took her in a tow y^e Deering / Likewise
unbent their main topsail foresaile & / foretopsail &
brought others too y^e yards it continued / northerly
wind a Moderate gale /

June
y[•] 23^d
Tuesday This morning A little wind northerly we / stood into
y^e firth Close under an Island called / sweatah where
we turned to & fro to spend / y^e flood /

June
y[•] 24th
Wednesday This morning turned away for † S. Margarets / hope
& about six o Clock y^e Bon†adventure / came aground

*Edge of paper frayed.

†Read by piecing together some loose scraps of paper.

& lay till 10 ^e y fore*noon young flood / gott of & sent
hasser aboard of us & heaved into / deep water so rid
all night /

June
y^o 25th
Thursday This morning weigh'd & stood for Caston proving /
calm gott not there till y^e afternoon tide /

June
y^o 26th
Friday To day our ships watered & in y^e Evening y^e / wind
came up southerly /

June
y^o 27th
Saturday About 4 this morning weighed from Caston & / just
out of hoyhead y^e pilot went ashore y^e wind / at S S W
about noon y^e wind veared forward in y^e / / [28]
Afternoon y^e Bonadventure took us in a tow & y^e /
seaford took y^e knight in a tow towards night / a fresh
gale at W S W Reeft topsailes & handed main /
topsailes & mizzen topsailes & 12 at night saw a s† /
saile bearing down upon us after making w^t we / was
went away before y^e wind /

June
y^o 28th
Sunday To day it Blew hard put us by our topsail y^e / wind
at W b S & W S W about two this afternoon / our
tow rope broke & at four y^e knights broke also / so
y^e men of war wen wth an Easy sail /

June
y^o 29th
Monday This day it continued a fresh gale this afternoon /
y^e Deering bore away & took y^e knight in tow / having
as much wind as could carry our topsails /

June
y^o 30th
Tuesday This afternoon it blowing very hard y^e knight / broak
her tow handed our topsails & at 12 M N / Lay a try /

July
y^o 1st
Wednesd This morning bore away to y^e knight & about / two
this afternoon set our foresaile y^e wind being / at
W b N & W N W a hard gale /

July
y^o 2^d
Thursday This morning ^{four o Clock y^o wind dullered we}
bore away to y^e Knight set out /

*Read by piecing together some loose scraps of paper.
†Partially erased.

topsails & about ten y^e bonadventure bore away & /
 took y^e * knight in a tow about 3 this afternoon /
 came down in a * squall in w^{ch} y^e deering lost her foretop /
 mast & mizzen * top mast so we Reeft our topsails /
 & bore down to him & askt him if he wanted any /
 thing from us now being an easy gale /

July
y^e 3^d
Friday

This morning fine weather saw a sail w^{ch} y^e / Bonadvent.^r
 bore away to & took her in a tow y^e wind / springing
 up att East brough her away wth him & / kept all day
 y^e hoy in a tow wth 2 hassers & a fine / fresh gale
 Easterly /

July
y^e 4th
Saturday

This morning fair weath.^r y^e wind took us short /
 about ten a Clock y^e Com^madore turn'd y^e sweed away /
 who had given him an acco.^t y^e one of his men was
 gone / along wth / / [29] gone along wth M^r Diberville &
 y^e he was gone wth 3 / Saile /

July
y^e 5th
Sunday

To day y^e winds are Variable^a Continuing westerly
 sma† / breezes this four & twenty hours reefed topsails
 a little / before night /

July
y^e 6th
Monday

This day y^e winds are Variable from y^e S.^o West / to
 y^e N.^o West fine Easy gales /

July
y^e 7th
Tuesday

This day squally Weather till about 2 this after / noon
 y^e wind dullered & veared about to y^e N N E / a fine
 gale & our ship making more water then / Usual since
 this Last hard gale /

July
y^e 8th
Wednesday

This morning Calm till eight & then small / Breezes
 from N.^o to y^e W all day /

July
y^e 9th
Thursday

This morning four o Clock fine Easy breeze / Notherly
 Continuing till towards y^e Close of y^e / Evening growing

*Read by piecing together some loose scraps of paper.

†Edge of paper frayed.

- calm we steered West a little North / erly all day /
- July y^e 10th Friday To day steered west B N^o. small breezes from y^e / South to y^e East towards Evening fell calm again /
- July y^e 11th Saturday This day small breezes Mixt wth Calmes about / ten this forenoon y^e Commodores Boat came on board / us inviting our Cap. thither to dinner wth y^e Rest / of y^e Command^{rs}. Except Cap. Bayley being indisposed / did not go y^e rest tarrying there till Evening /
- July y^e 12th Sunday Calm this morning fair weather & so Continuing west^{erly} ^{till about} two / this afternoon y^e wind sprung up at N^o west at / seven reefed topsails /
- July y^e 13th Munday This morning fair Weather y^e wind Continueing / westerly tackt at four this morning this afternoon / y^e Deering brought to another Main top sail /
- July y^e 14th Tuesday This morning fine weather till about noon it blew / blowing fresh Reefed our topsails at two y^e afternoon / in y^e Evening handed our maintopsail to day brought / brought to a Mainsail Maintop^sail & Mizzen / / [30]
- July y^e 15th Wednes This morning Tack^t y^e wind Northe^rly & about eight / this forenoon lay our Course W b N & a little / afternoon Lett out our Reefes of topsails y^e wind / coming about N^o. Easterly wth fair weather /
- July y^e 16th Thursd To day y^e wind continuing y^e same about N^o. E^t. / fair weather we loosed our topgallentsails & this / Evening it proved very calm Latt. 58° 17' /
- July y^e 17th friday This morning a fine Breeze at W S W & / continued a fresh gale about ten reefed topsails / now reckoning our selves about 50 Leagues of / cape farewell variation 18° 00' this Evening y^e / Deering carry away his

1696-1694

Mizzen yard /

July
y^e 18th
Saturday

This morning it Blowed hard at W S W till / about
Evening it grew calm y^e wind came up at / N^o by E
we steered away W N W Latt. 59^{de} 47 /

July
y^e 19th
Sunday

To day fine weather wth small Breezes at / N^o N E till
toward night it proved foggy about noon / y^e commodore
seaford & deerings boats came on / board y^e seaford for
some things they wanted / / [31]

A Journal of our wintering by gods assistance / at
hayes River in y^e year of our Lord 1694 /

August
y^e 13th
being
Munday

This day about noon y^e ships weighed from y^e / rivers
mouth it being $\frac{3}{4}$ flood & at high water / y^e wind
being at S E y^e albermarle broke her fast / & drove
upon y^e ship but we gott her of again at / 2 this
afternoon our shallop came ashore y^e ships / being
out of sight having two hands in y^e / marsh to look
out /

y^e 14th
Tuesday

To day 3 of us was sent over y^e River about 7 miles /
from y^e house to keep an Eye abroad our people / wen
a rafting also /

y^e 22^d
Wednesday

This day y^e gove^rneur sent a Boat to me wth 4^{lb} of
powder / & 20^{lb} of shott & 10 flints /

y^e 27th
Munday

This Evening y^e Governour sent an Indian over to /
me wth four 4^{lb} of Powder & 20 lb of shott wth 10 flints /

y^e 28th
Tuesday

To day about noon I went home wth y^e Indian y^t came /
last night & carryed wth us 19 geese /

y^e 29th
Wednesday

This morning I was sett over y^e river in order to /
return to y^e tent /

- Sept^r This morning ^ey Blowed hard at N.^o W thw squals of /
^ey st1 snow being ^ey first we had this fall /
 Saturday
- ^ey ^d2 To day another Boat from ^ey factory w thfour ^{lb}4 / of
 Sunday Powder & 16 of shott w th10 flints by w I sent / 17
 Geese /
- ^ey th4 This morning came a boat from ^ey house w ^{th e}y sam* /
 Tuesday quantity of powder & shott by which I sent / 40 ge^ease /
- ^ey th5 I sent two hands w thour broken guns to be mended /
 Wednes ^{ch}w they did & returned in ^ey Evening / / [32]
- ^ey th11 To day ^ey wind blowed very hard at N.^o W thw squals /
 Tuesday of snow /
- ^ey th12 Last night it froze very hard & this morning much /
 Wednesday Ice lay along shore ^ey wind shifting from ^ey N.^o W / to
^ey S^o W & fair weather /
- ^ey th13 To day ^ey Govern^r: sent two hands to relieve us / in
 Thursday ^ey afternoon but we tarried this night /
- ^ey th14 This morning we set forth for ^ey house it / blowing
 friday very hard northerly likewise snowing / hard about
 noon gott to ^ey fort in ^ey Evening / clearing up &
 indians being in ^ey marsh a / hunting ^{brought}us news of
 two ships being arrived / at Portnelson our people
^ty were in ^ey marsh / returning w ^{th e}y same news & one
 hand getting / up ^ey flag stafe could disc^ray ^my from
^ey house / this night watcht halfwatch /
- Sept^r This morning ^ey Govern^r. sent two Indians / over ^ey
^ey th15 river w a note for those two men w ^{ch}/ was there
 Saturday Likewise another party of indians / into ^ey marsh to
 make w ^tdiscovery they could of / ^ey french in ^ey
 afternoon they brought us / news there was * 11 w ^{ch}

they saw but they told ^{m t} y y there was forty of ^m y
landed so we broke / open small arms & gott our
selves provided / for ^m y /

^y th 16
Sunday

To day about noon ^e y french came to ^e y woods / Edge
& fired some guns at us & so went away we / have a
discription ^t y they have brought mohocks / we fired
some guns into ^e y woods /

^y th 17
Monday

This morning ten a Clock one of ^e y ships / weighed
from Portnelson & stood for our / River in ^e y Evening
came to anchor fair in / sight last night we fired
sev^{er}al guns to / scail ^e y woods / / [33] York fort Hay /

^y th 18
Tuesday

Last night ^e y wind blowing northerly it snowed / very
hard about 11 a Clock we saw several men in ^e y / woods
Edge firing at our people & they at ^m y & one / great
gun Likewise their boat came from / portnelson wth
about 30 men great part of ^m y landed / below ^e y fort
& ^e y rest went aboard ^e y ship after w^{ch} / they went a
sounding ^e y river this Evening ^e y ship / came into ^e y
river & came to anchor 3 miles below ^e y / house &
landed some bundles on this side but could / not
dicern w^t they were their people coming often / to
alarum us /

^y th 19
Wednesday

This morning there Indians came within 2 miles / of
^e y fort there pitcht their tent at noon a Cannoe /
arrived here Informing us ^{t e} y y french had mortar /
pieces on board & ^t y they had seen ^m y & ^{t e} y y french
Gover / ner told ^{m t e} y y y great should winter on ^e y north
side / of portnelson they continue to alarum us this /
Evening their ship weighed but soon after came

aground/lying there y^t tide by reason their Boat was
up y^e river /

y[•] 20th
Thursday

This morning their long boat went ashore some /
!ndians coming from y^e other side y^e river told us /
she was loaden wth Boom shels & was going / to fetch
y^e mortar Likewise some men went / along y^e woods
to guard y^m & in y^e Evening y^e boat / went ashore
again loaden a w^{ch} we fired several / great guns they
keeping a Party always to / alarum us /

y[•] 21st
Friday

About noon their cannoes went a Boying & / sounding
y^e south Chanel at six this Evening almost / high
water y^e ship weighed & went up y^e south chanel /
at w^{ch} we fired 4 Great guns she got above y^e fort /
distance one mile & half & came aground much snow /
last night & Ice drove in y^e river / / [34]

Sept.^r
y[•] 22^d
Saturday

To day y^e ship continued aground y^e Ice growing /
thicker they lightened their ship wth y^e long boat they /
Keeping hands alwayes to alarum us /

y[•] 23^d
Sunday

y[•] 23^d
Sunday

This morning they gott of their ship & stood for y^e /
north shoar but being hindered by y^e Ice came /
aground again but seeing our people fetching of /
wood came & shott at y^m but did no hurt /

y[•] 24th
Munday

Last night gott their ship of & warpt ashore /about
a mile & half above y^e fort to day at low / water we
see y^m hand deal Boards & other goods / ashore their
people still alarum us /

y[•] 25th
Tuesday

To day we could discry nothing but their / securing
their ship /

y[•] 26^t
Wednesd

To day at noon our ^{Yacht drove} people ^ said away to y^e other /

side of y^e river much Ice being in y^e other chanel /
drove to sea out of sight /

y^e 27th
thursday

Last night our people said they saw some / french
men so fired some guns this morning / saw one more
plain fired one gun at him /

y^e 28th
friday

This day we saw y^e french gett their goods / ashore /

y^e 29th
Saturday

This morning they came so near us y^t we saw y^m / fall
trees & at noon came to y^e woods edge & fired at /
our people all y^e afternoon we firing now & then /
again when we could see y^m /

y^e 30th
Sunday

Last night our people saw a man & fired at him / this
afternoon happened an Imbroile in y^e fort / Joseph
stays more being y^e cause thereof y^e french / came to
y^e woods Edge our people shott at y^m / / [35]

October
y^e 1st
Munday

About ten oClock this morning came an Indian who /
told us y^t he came from above y^e french but meeting /
wth one of y^m in y^e woods carryed him to y^e ship he said /
y^t morning they gott ashore their Boom & was /
Intended to play it shortly & this Evening fired /
their Boom but it fell three or four hundred yards /
short we seeing y^m in y^e woods edge fired 2 muskets /
at y^m so gave y^e Indian some Oatmel & sent him away /

y^e 2^d
Tuesday

Last night they made great fires near us about / five
hundred yards to day came to y^e woods Edge / &
fired 3 guns at us & this Evening they put up / flag
staves at y^e mast head of y^e ship & kept their / fire day
& night /

Oct^r
y^e 3^d
Wednesday

To day about noon came one french man & a mohaw /
mohawk Indian wth a flag of truce wth a summons to /

our governour w^{ch} spacefied y^t they was ready to /
 Cannonade & Boombard y^e fort & if we would / not
 surrender it they would reduce it to ashes & / give us
 no quarter so desired our answer by / Eight a Clock
 y^e next morning so y^e Govern.^r / desired longer time to
 Consider of it but they / would not so he sent y^m word
 he would /

^e 4th
 y^e 4th
 Thursday

This morning M.^r Matthew & I went wth a flag / of truce
 & carryed our articles w^{ch} their cheif / perrused then
 those w^{ch} he did not like he altered so / demanded
 y^e governour to surrender it up at / 4 a Clock in
 y^e afternoon forasmuch a he would / not alter* his
 Resolution but would begin to / play when y^e time
 was Expired Likewise he allotted / us y^e house called
 foxhall to put all our things / in so we returned at
 ten & gott our things in / order & at 12 he sent two
 men to hear our ans / wer so y^e Govern.^r told y^m since
 he could have no // [36] longer time would make
 ready for his Entrance / so accordingly they came &
 took possession of y^e / fort our Govern.^r & 14 more of
 us was ordered to go / up to M.^r Diberveall house in
 order to pass y^e / night /

To Clark.....	1 /
To bennet.....	1 /
To Witham.....	1 /
To Young.....	1 /
To Pratt.....	1 /
To Moor.....	1 /
To Dix.....	1 /

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To Paul.....	1 /
To Pitts.....	1 /
	£ /
To Candles.....	22 /
To Cheese.....	28 /
To soap.....	120 /
To Sugar.....	28 /
To Brandy 6 gallons /	
To Cardymum & Carnaway waters 4 Gallons /	
To 2 Ounces of sowing silk 2 ounces stiching /	
sweet herbs & spices black silk & ¹²⁴ buttons 144 //	
SW	

[37]

A Journal of wintering by gods assistance / at Hayes
river in ^ey year one Thousand / six hundred Ninety
Six Sept ^{r e th}y 18 /

friday Sept ^{r e th}y 18 this morning dispatcht ^ey / Hudsonsbay
& about 10 this forenoon she sailed / from before ^ey
factory & went down to lower five / fathom hole ^ey
govern. ^rsent a boat aboard w^{ch} / returned about nine
this Even^g: told us ^ty at low water / she grounded &
sued about 2 foot ^ey wind being / N^o.therly & thick
weather could not see where to / come to anchor we
have had no news from ^ey ships / lowest down since
they went out this night / watcht quarter watch ^ey
16th Instant Bowatter / lost his thumb /
Saturday Sept. ^{r e th}y 19 to day about ten this forenoon /
^ey Hudsonsbay weighed & went out to ^ey other ships /

Likewise cap.^t Grimmington came up wth a boat / to
 satisfie y^e Govern.^r w^t he had put aboard y^e knig^{ht} / to
 go down into y^e Bay & Likewise told y^e Govern.^r y^e /
 reason of his going out without orders was y^e y^e /
 Commodore Command.^d him to goe out & y^t his orders /
 was to take him along wth him therefore bid him /
 not stay behind at his perril so y^e Gov.^r desired /
 him to sail as soon as possible he went from / us about
 noon we have had Indians here this / two days past
 sent one cannoe up y^e river to see if / deer had crost
 & y^e rest to portnelson to see w^t news / there our ships
 remained at anchor all day y^e wind / S^otherly /
Sunday y^e 20th this morning all y^e ships sailed / Except
 y^e knight & she sailed about ten this forenoon / / [38]
 y^e wind being W^terly a fresh gale this afternoon /
 y^e Cannoe I sent up y^e river came back & said y^e / deer
 had done passing this river some time since / to day
 was found some catridges of Powder but / it was wet /
 Munday y^e 21st this morn.^g y^e Gov.^r send 2 hands / over
 y^e river to y^e albemarle to unbend her sails / & to see
 w^t Condition she is in about noon came / some Indians
 out of portnelson wth whom I / traded some beavour
 today we got all y^e old cask / & placed round y^e foundation
 of y^e lower platform / & filled y^m wth stones & this Even.^g
 y^e Indians went all / away Except Guyers Child^{ch} w^e we
 kept y^e wind / N^otherly & freezing hard /
 Tuesday y^e 22^d fair weath.^r frosty this morn.^g M^r / Kelsey
 wth 2 hands went up y^e river in a Cannoe / to try to
 take some fish sent some hands up also to / make a

Raft of of firewood who return'd being / near in ^e y
 Evening our people shot 2 Geese near / y ^e plantation
 y wind continues in y ^e N W / Quadr^t. /

Wednesday 23 wind & Weath^r. continuing some of our /
 men went up to work on y ^e raft firewood y ^e gov. ^r / sent
 away two hands to Portnelson river we / are now
 fixing up at home our Lodging /

Thursday 24 Moderate frost little wind to / day about
 nine forenoon came to y ^e fort having / had no success
 M^r Newton & another hand / being gone over y ^e river
 to a smoke w^{ch} was seen all / night when returning again
 brought news y ^t y / seafords pinnace wth nine men was
 drove from y ^e / ships y ^e 19 day at night & gott ashore
 on y ^e south / / [39] shore five of y ^m being come wth our
 people y ^t went to y ^e / albamarle M^r Newton brought
 our two men over at in / flood y ^e Canoe so sent y ^e
 pinnace over at flood for / those men likewise sent
 our two men away wth provision / to see for y ^e other
 four this afternoon came one Indian / from portnelson
 who said there was more a coming / this evening he
 went back to his canoe to day we / begun to set^{up}
 palesadoes round y ^e gov. ^{rs} house took / acco of y ^t ^e trading
 room /

friday y ^e 25 y th ^e weath^r. continuing this morn^g. sent five /
 hands into y ^e marsh to y ^e Indian y ^t was here last / night
 to help bring his deers flesh & at y ^e same time / came
 two indians out of y ^e woods loaden wth meat & at /
 11 a Clock traded their meat & Beavour this afternoon /
 our pinnace went down where y ^e ships rid & brought /

^{th m}
w y a hassar & anchor & said there was y^e Commodores /
small bower & a hassar remaining our people at /
work still to set up palesadoes /

Saturday y^e 26th this morn.^g hard frost ice drove in y^e /
river y^e indians y^t came yesterday went away about /
ten this forenoon our pinnace went down again & /
brought w^{th m} y an anchor & piece of hassar w^{ch} we Judged /
to be y^e deerings likewise our shallop went a / creeping
for an anchor against y^e fort hooked but / hauling it up
brake y^e creeper to day buried 6 Barrels / Barrels of
Beer our people continues about y^e / palasadeos this
afternoon y^e wind came about / Easterly a moderate
Gale no news from y^e other / side /

Sunday y^e 27th Cloudy weath.^{r th} w small ^{snow y^o} breezes / wind
N^otherly this afternoon was found 9 / / [40] Catridges
of powder & one sack of wheat no news from / y^e other
side /

Munday y^e 28th it snowed hard last night so this / Morn.^g
our hands went to setting up y^e wood into a pile /
about noon our pinnace went down to where we /
played y^e mortar & fetcht one ^{anchor} morator & hassar w^{ch} /
y^e seaford left y^e anchor y^e Hudsons bay /

Tuesday y^e 29th this morning y^e Ice was very thick in
y^e / River got up y^e rest of our wood & likewise haul'd
up / our Boats & got all y^e anchors up to high water /
mark this afternoon our 2 men returned from y^e / other
side w^{th e} y^t yaul bringing news y^t they found / no men
but Judged y^m to be dead by reason they / found a
bone & sleave of a shirt all bloody y^e / bone they

^rb^rought w^{th m} y^e our Chururgeon said he / thought it
 to be y^e bone of a mans arm moderate / weath.^{r e} y^e wind
^oS^otherly gave our men out Indian / shoes /
 Wednesday y^{e th} 30 Last night it snowed hard y^e / wind
^tE^terly this morn.^g sent our people to cut / wood & pile
 it up near y^e bank side in case we / should want in
^ey winter about nine this / forenoon they came home
 it continuing snow / ing hard went no more but went
 to pointing our / Houses & altering their lodgings // [41]
 Thursday Octob. y^{r e st e} 1 y^r weath. continues w^{th e} y^e wind /
 between y^e N.^o & y^e East a hard gale to day gott up
 our / other boat & y^e men kept pointing y^e houses /
 Friday y^{e d} 2 to day made an end of pointing y^e / houses
^{ri}y^e weather continuing blowing & snowing / the wind
 coming to y^e westward of y^e north /
 saturday y^{e d} 3 moderate weather little wind / our people
 took up stockings and shoe / clouts /
 Sunday y^{e th} 4 fair weather the wind between / the south
 & y^e East a strong gale froze very / hard last night /
 Munday y^{e th} 5 fair weather some of our people / went
 out ahunting & saw some Deers tracks / & found y^e
 legs of one which the wolves had / kill'd but discover'd
 nothing at port / nelson /
 Tuesday y^{e th} 6 fresh gales of wind from y^e west / N^o W^t to
 y^e N.^o W^t this morning I & 3 of our men / went 9 miles
 up y^e river to see for fish y^e rest of / our hands went
 to cut wood near y^e house /
 Wednesday y^{e th} 7 to day strong gales of wind at / N.^o W.^t
thw small snow our people continue to cut / wood /

Thursday y^e 8th wind & weather continue & / our men
wooding as formerly /

friday y^e 9th fine weather y^e wind Ditto this day / y^e
south Channel stopt wth Ice & y^e River froze over / at
Gooseberrys house where I was so I sent 2 men down /
to y^e fort wth 2 / / [42]

Saturday y^e 10th Moderate Weath.^r y^e winds D.^o to day / y^e
2 men returned to me & brought wth y^e one more /

Sunday y^e 11th fair weather y^e wind between the / south
& the west some small snow fell this morn.^g /

Munday the 12th the wind variable from the S.^o / W.^t to
y^e S.E.^o snowing weather 10 of our men went ou^{over}t /

the river to y^e
ahunting fourteens to hunt & fish & 3 of our men /
went out ahunting returned in y^e Even.^g bringing /
7 patridges /

Tuesday y^e 13th this morning snowed y^e wind W.st erly /
3 of our people went out a hunting brought home one /
patridge we Likewise discovered some deer tracks & /
our people shott at some one martin catcht to day /
being y^e first /

Wednesday y^e 14th fresh gales of wind from y^e N.^o to /
y^e W.st to day 5 of our men went a hunting but caught /
nothing Likewise we all went a hunting & I kill'd 2 /
deer /

Thursday y^e 15th Cloudy weath.^r y^e wind between / y^e
S.^o & y^e E.^t wth snow to day some of our people / going
a hunting came up wth some deer & shott / at y^m but
did not kill Likewise we went out / & one of y^m kill'd
a deer 2 of our men was lost / from y^e factory /

friday y^e 16th the weather Ditto some of our men went
 a / hunting & withall to look for the men w^{ch} was lost /
 Saturday y^e 17th Clear weather y^e wind from y^e S.^o to /
 y^e W.st some of our men went a hunting & brought /
 home 4 patridges & some came home from y^e fourteens /
 & brought 20 trouts I sent 3 men home wth 2 Deers
 heads / & some deers flesh / / [43]

Sunday y^e 18th moderate weath. y^r wind ditto to day y^e
 men / returned wth more men to fetch y^e remaining
 part of y^e deer & / 2 Indians came to y^e factory from
 up portnelson River /

Munday y^e 19th to day I sent y^e men home wth y^e deer some
 of our / men went a hunting one of y^e Indians returned
 having / traded y^e other y^e other remained at y^e factory
 y^e former lay / at my tent wth me /

Tuesday y^e 20th y^e wind S.therly some of our men & y^e
 Indian / went a hunting but returned having seen no
 game / but one man lost himself /

Wednesday y^e 21st y^e winds & weath. variable from y^e /
 N.^o W.^t to y^e N.^o E.^t some snow to day some of our people /
 & y^e Indian went out to look for y^e lost he & they /
 returned wth 5 patridges to day I removed our selves
 to / ten shilling river Creek /

Thursday y^e 22^d y^e weather ditto y^e wind from y^e S^o W^t /
 to y^e N.^o E.^t N.^o therly to day some men & Y^e Indian /
 went a hunting returned wth out game only y^e Indian /
 Kill'd one Rabbit & a patridge to day set 21 hooks /
 for fish /

friday y^e 23^d fair weather nothing remarkable /

Saturday y^e 24th this morning took up all y^e hooks / &
 went all home to the factory snowing squally / weath.^r
 y^e wind S.^otherly y^e Indian being out return'd / in y^e
 afternoon wth 3 patridges / / [44]

Sunday y^e 25th strong gales of wind at N.^o with / snow
 sent y^e Indian over to our people at y^e fourteens / to
 hear w^t news & in y^e Even.^g y^e gunner another hand /
 & y^e Indian returned they brought with them / 10
 trout /

Munday y^e 26th Clear weather y^e wind ditto 3 of / our
 men came from y^e fourteens for provision / and brought
with them one fish to day the / S.^o Channel fastened
 again with Ice /

Tuesday the 27th moderate gales the weather / Ditto
 this day I and those men which came / from the
 fourteens and 3 more men which / stayed at the
 french Creek to fish the rest / returned to the fourteens
 four more going / Likewise up the River to hunt and /
 fish /

Wednesday the 28th fine weather the wind / S.^o E.^t to day
 one of our men went a hunt / ing but caught nothing /
 Thursday the 29th Variable winds from / the S.^o E.^t to
 the N.^o W.^t with much snow / to day shot 5 wood
 patridges in the plan /

friday the 30th strong gales of wind with / small snow
 one of our men went a hunting / no success / / [45]

Saturday y^e 31st fair weather the wind S.^o W.^t / I and
 some of the men from the fourteens / came home
 bringing 10 fish and 19 patridges / and one hand

from the house 2 more ditto / Likewise 2 hands ^{came} ^
 from above having nothing / this week /
 Sunday november y ^e 1st moderate weather / the wind
 S^o W^t. this day came 3 men from / the french Creek
 and in y^e afternoon came / two hands from y^e fourteens
 bringing / with them two mohawks who said they
 left / some Indians six days since that wanted /
 victuals and were coming towards the / fort /
 Munday the 2^d fair weather the wind / S^o therly to
 day some of our men and one / of the Mohawks with
 the Indian went / returned to the fourteens one of
 our men / went a hunting and Killed six / patridges /
 Tuesday the 3^d strong gales of wind S^o therly / Clear
 weather to day the rest of our men / returned to the
 fourteens and one came / from thence another went
 up the River to / see for the 2 men y^t is there some of
 our men / went a hunting but caught nothing / / [46]
 Wednesday the 4th fair weather the winds / variable
 from the S^o W^t to the N^o E^t to day / our men that
 was up the river came home / having caught nothing
 and one hand / went to the fourteens and some went
 a / hunting brought home about 10 patrid^{ges} /
 Thursday the 5th strong gales of wind / from the S.
 to the E^t Cloudy weath. /
 friday the 6th Clear weather the wind / ditto two of
 our men went a hunting towards / the fourteens and
 some on this side / which brought about 12 patridges /
 Saturday the 7th some snow last night / the wind
 N^o.therly some of our men / came from the fourteens

and brought / with them 98 patridges some men went /
a hunting brought one ditto and one new / gun broak /
Sunday the 8th fair weather 2 of the / Indians went a
hunting and brought / 14 patridges this morning 8
a Clock Matthew Vickary died /
Munday the 9th thick weather this / morning at noon
Cleared up two / hands came from y^e french Creek / the
Indians went a hunting brought / / [47] home 2
patridges and one Rabbit this / afternoon buried our
man /
Tuesday the 10th Moderate gales between / the N.^o and
the W^t with small snow to / day the two men returned
to the french / Creek and I with one of our men and /
2 Indians Went a Beavour hunting / 2 of our men
went from the fort a hunting but caught nothing /
Wednesday the 11th Wind and weather / Ditto our men
went to fetch home / wood and one hand went a /
hunting brought home 2 patridges /
Thursday the 12th clear weather / wind ditto our people
Continue to / fetch wood and one of our men went /
a hunting kill'd 2 patridges /
Friday the 13th wind ditto some / snow nothing
remarkable but one of / our men went a hunting out
and / kil'd 5 patridges / / [48]
Saturday the 14th moderate gales west / erly some snow
to day 5 of of our men / came from the fourteens
which brought / 7 Jacks and 20 patridges likewise /
two from the french Creek with 2 / Jack and two
trout /

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Sunday the 15th fine clear weath.^r / with little wind ditto
our men returned / from beavour hunting having
caught / one and 8 patridges this morning between /
12 & 1 Daniel Hardy died /

Munday the 16th fair weather to / day our men returned
to the fourteens / and likewise to the french creek
this / afternoon buried our man /

Tuesday the 17th Moderate / weather the wind N.^otherly
this / morning came 2 Indians starved / to the fort
having left their family's / 2 days Journey of Likewise
2 of / our men went to the fourteens one / of which
returned again in the / Evening and one hand went
a hunting / brought home 6 patridges / / [49]

Wednesday the 18th last night some / snow the wind
N.^otherly to day the / Indian returned to his family
with / some Indian corn the other and / one of our
men went a hunting brought / home 13 patridges
likewise one / Indian came from our people at the /
fourteens /

Thursday the 19th Last night / Edward Harrington dyed
to day we / Buried him 2 Indians went a hunting /
brought 22 patridges moderate weath / er little wind /

Friday the 20th Last night 11 a / Clock came 2 Indians
to the fort / from the other side the river one being /
the same that went away to meet / the family and to
day the rest / came to y^e factory 2 Indians and one /
of our men went a hunting / brought home 24 patridges
this / Evening some snow wind N.^otherly /

Saturday the 21st Last night / the River fastened against

the / fort to day some of our people / came from the
 fourteens and / Likewise some from the french / / [50]
 Creek brought with them 6 patridges / and four fish
 some of our men went / a hunting brought 20 patridges/
 clear weather little wind between / the N.^o & y^e west /
 Sunday the 22^d some snow the / Wind N^otherly to day
 came 3 Indians / from between portnelson and / this
 River 2 days Journey brought / some Beaver /
 Munday the 23^d moderate gales at / W N W weather
 ditto to day our men / returned to the fourteens and
 french / Creek and 3 or 4 of our men went / with
 them to fall timber and to / hunt beavour 2 Indians
 and one / of our men went a hunting brought / 15
 patridges /
 Tuesday the 24th this day wind / S^o W^t. the Indians went
 from the / fort and carryed with them those / that
 came here starved to day two / of our men went to
 the fourteens / one of which tarryed there Likewise /
 3 indians came to the fort one of / which was the
 french Captain they / brought nothing but 2 white
 fox skins / / [51]
 Wednesday the 25th strong gales at / N N W^t to day
 the french Captain / and the Indians went from the
 fort / 2 of our men went a hunting brought / 15
 patridges /
 Thursday the 26^t moderate gales / W N W^t to day our
 men fetcht home / wood from the Creek above the /
 house and the indian went a / hunting kill'd 5
 patridges /

Friday the 27th cloudy weath.^r / the wind W^t to day I
came home / with an Indian having set our / people
about the timber but / caught no beaver /

Saturday the 28th Clear weath.^r / the wind S^otherly
to day some / of our people came from the / fourteens
for our and the french / creek brought 2 patridges /

Sunday y^e 29th some snow last night / the wind came
about N.^otherly to day / sent one Indian to y^e fourteens
for our / beaver nets & ice Chizzels / / [52]

Munday the 30th Moderate weath / er our people
returned to the four / teens and the french Creek our /
men went a hunting brought 7 / patridges /

Tuesday the December the 1st / this morning I and
M^r Newton / went toward portnelson to see / what we
could discover but it / came on snowy and thick
weather / so we returned gott home at / night the
wind between the S.^o / and the East our people kill'd /
7 patridges /

Wednesday the 2^d some small / snow the wind between
the / S.^o and the W.^t this morning 2 / hands went to
the fourteens / our people went a hunting kill'd /
16 patridges /

Thursday the 3^d Cloudy / weather wind W.^t this
Morning / 2 hands went came from the four / teens
saying they began sawing / / [53] yesterday Likewise

our people went / a hunting and killed ^{about} 16 patridges /
Friday the 4th the wind between / the S.^o and the E.^t
weather Ditto our / people went a hunting brought /
8 patridges and one Rabbit this / Evening the same

Indian that / was here starved that went away / came
again having left his family / this morning and some
other / Indians a thursday /

Saturday the 5th strong gales of / wind N^o.therly to day
some of / our people came from the fourteens / and
french Creek /

Sunday the 6 Clear weather / the wind variable from
the / N^o. to the S^o W^t /

Munday the 7th weather ditto / the wind West to day
our / people returned to the fourteens / and french
creek Likewise here / / [54] came 3 Indians starved to
the fort / our people went a hunting brought / 29
patridges saw a smoke on the / south side sent a hand
to know / the reason proved to be the / mohawks /
Tuesday the 8th wind and weath.^r / the same our hunters
kill'd 7 / patridges and one white fox the / rest of our
people fetcht home wood /

Wednesday the 9th Clear weath.^r / the wind between the
N^o. and / the W^t to day those Indians that / came last
went away and the / other Indians that came a
friday / last his family gott hither our / people continue
to fetch wood /

Thursday the 10th fresh gales / N^o.therly thick weather
our / people still fetch wood our / hunters kill'd to
day 13 / patridges /

Friday the 11th fresh gales at / N W wth drift / / [55]

Saturday the 12th Clear weather the / wind west our
people some from the / french creek and the fourteens /
brought 41 patridges our hunters / Likewise killed 38 /

Sunday the 13th fair weather / the wind ditto to day
 saw one man / cross the river above the fort 2 / mile
 sent two indians to discover the / track returning told
 us it was a / man without snow shoes here came / also
 an indian woman with 2 / children for relief having
 left 5 more / Indians that was coming also the /
 12 Instant /

Munday the 14th fair weather / little wind to day our
 people / returned to the fourteens and / french Creek
 our hunters kill'd / 29 patridges /

Tuesday the 15th Moderate / weather the wind Easterly /
 I and one Mohawk went over / the River to set a nett
 the same / day came 8 Indians to the / fort 3 of which
 had been here / before / / [56]

Wednesday the 16th Cloudy weather / the wind North
 West returned to / the house having catcht one Jack /
 to day our hunters kill'd 30 / patridges and 3 Rabbits /
 Thursday the 17th fair weath.^r / little wind our hunters
 kill'd 30 / 17 patridges & one rabbit /

Friday the 18th thick weath.^r / the wind S.^otherly our
 hunters / kill'd 30 patridges and found / one wolf /

Saturday the 19th wind and / Weather ditto to day our
 people / came all home from the / fourteens and french
 Creek / Likewise 6 indians went away / our people
 brought 93 patridges / our hunters kill'd 34 and 3 /
 rabbits /

Sunday the 20th some snow / the wind N.^o this morning /
 came 3 indians starved / likewise sent two up the /
 river to fish & hunt / / [57]

Munday the 21st Wind and weath.^r / Ditto our hunters
kill'd 21 patridges / & one Rabbit /

Tuesday the 22^d strong gales / of wind N.^otherly and
much / Drift /

Wednesday the 23^d Clear weath.^r / the wind W.^t our
hunters kill'd / 25 patridges /

Thursday the 24th fair weath.^r / the wind W.st to day our
hunters / kill'd 9 patridges one Indian / dyed fetcht
wood home /

Friday the 25th Wind & / weather Ditto last night they /
burnt the Corps to day came y^e / black boy and his
wife to the fort / Likewise whiskers came from his /
family an returned in the even / ing black boy brought
our gun / splitt /

Saturday the 26th fine weather / the wind W.^terly this
morning / came all whiskers family to / the fort /

Sunday the 27th fresh gales at S.^o / W.^t wth drift / / [58]

Munday the 28th fine gales ditto / Clear to day made
a search found / some trading goods in the mens /
chest of which the governer took ^{an} ^tacco. / this Evening
some difference fell / between the governer and M.^r
Newton / upon which the Governer turned / him out
of place and his house /

Arrabeck or indian language of hudsons / bay /
* Cakiththa keeshquebbaujwahtchee j ^{bay /} aihttee
naunneewee Ne wee No tee / Squea wan Kescot
nee Kiththee Chua quoaming Pee lane ma Newa
Wha / pimmok Kagi a Nee pa autta Meshshee woan

*The Indian words which follow are written with a finer pen,
but perhaps by the same hand, as the remainder of the text.
The transcription here given is in many places uncertain.

1696-1697

poos co Tabbiscanura^{d/}

Tuesday the 29th small snow / the wind N^otherly our
indians / and one English man went a / hunting kill'd
10 patridges and / 4 rabbits to day the governer took /
from Andrew Johnson all his / beaver by reason he
traded some / of it with an indian called whiskers /
Likewise some small matter of / Beaver stones that is
about 6 / Beaver and as many stones one indian / &
one English man went to y^e fourteens / / [59]

Wednesday the 30th Clear weather / the wind ditto our
indians went a / hunting and kill'd 11 patridges /
Thursday the 31st strong gales / of wind N^otherly with
drift / to day our man and the indian / returned from
the fourteens but / had no success /

A pleasant fancy of old time / which made me write
in an unknown / tongue because counsel is kept best
in / one single Breast* /

1697⁶ Friday January the 1st^{vale/st} clear / weather the wind
W^terly this / morning 2 mohawks and one / other
indian set out for the nort / North side of portnelson
to hunt / patridges and 2 more Ditto to / hunting
about the fort the latter / brought 3 patridges to day
was / found 3 cask of beaver shott knives / and flints
awls and steels that the / french had hid under the
floor / of one of the cabbins and over the / Ceiling//[60]
Saturday the 2^d Gloomy weather / the westerly one
English man and / 1 Indian went a hunting had no /
success to day our people fetcht home / all the fire

*In the original this passage is opposite
the Indian words on page 58.

wood we had cut in y^e / woods /
 Sunday the 3^d fair weath.^r / the wind W.^t this morning /
 black boy and his wife went / to lye out two or 3
 nights one / Indian went a hunting had / no game /
 Munday the 4th wind & / weather ditto to day 8 of our /
 ma^ean went to the fourteens / to saw and hunt sent
 over / another saw to keep two saws / going /
 Tuesday the 5th Clear / Weather wind between the /
 S^o and the W.^t this morning / our men went about
 cleaning / the yard afternoon our 3 / Indians returned
 from the N^o / side of portnelson brought / about 15
 patridges one indian / went a hunting near home but
 had / no success / / [61]

Wednesday the 6th Clear weather / wind S.^otherly we
 made an End / of cleaning the yard 2 English / men
 went a hunting kill'd one / patridge /

Thursday the 7th thick weath.^r / wind Easterly this
 morning / went to the fourteens took 2 hands / along
 with mee to try to draw / home plank but could not
 so came / with one upon the dogs slead to the / Rivers
 side the wind being about / N.^otherly advised them to /
 return to the fourteens told / them they would not
 hold it over / it drift so hard they said they could /
 gott in sight of the north shore / one began to faint
 I ordered the / other to stay with him till I / went to
 the house and sent relief / but before our people gott
 to them / it being almost dark Rich.^d bean / was almost
 dead and W.^m Howard / destracted so was forc'd to
 sent many / men to fetch them both home / having

left the plank about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a / Mile of Rich.^d beans hands
 was / / [62] froze much his face Likewise could / not
 speak when brought home the / others face a little
 1 English man / and 2 Indians went a hunting / Kill
 17 patridges /

Friday the 8th fair weather / the wind between the N.^o
 and / the W.^t to day 4 Indians and / one English man
 went a hunting / kill'd 15 patridges and 2 rabits /
 Saturday the 9th thick weath.^r / the wind N.^otherly
 small / snow to day 3 hands came / from the fourteens
 one English / man and five Indians went / a hunting
 kill'd 29 patridges / & 1 Rabbit /

Sunday the 10th fair weath.^r / wind W.^t /

Munday the 11th Clear / weather the wind W.^t 4 /
 Indians & one English man went / a hunting kill'd
 7 patridges to day / our people returned to y^e
 fourteens / / [63]

Tuesday the 12th Wind and weath.^r / Ditto 2 Indians
 went a hunting / kill'd 5 patridges /

Wednesday the 13th small snow / the wind between the
 N.^o and the / E.^t with drift one English man / and
 5 Indians went a hunting / Killd 9 rabbits and 3
 patridges / one of the Indians went to lye / out a
 night or two to make snow shoes /

Thursday the 14th fresh gales / at N.^o W.^t Clear weath.^r /

Friday the 15th fresh gales / at N.^o W.^t 2 English men /
 and 4 indians Likewise the / other returned from
 Lying / out brought home in all 35 / patridges & one
 Rabbitt /

Saturday the 16th Clear / weather the wind Ditto
 to day / came 5 hands from the fourteens / 4 Indians
 went a hunting kill'd / 9 patridges this morning
 2 a Clock / Died Rich. Beaver our Chirur / geon
 opened his breast found / Several of his Ribs broak
 w^{ch} Edw. Harrington / did while Living / / [64]

Sunday the 17th snowy weath.^r / the wind between the
 S.^o and / the W.^t till Evening wind N.^o / blew hard /
 Munday the 18th much wind / N.^otherly and drift
 insomuch / that our people could not return / to y^e
 fourteens /

Tuesday the 19th thick / weather the wind from / the
 S.^o E.^t to the W.^t this morning / our people returned to
 the / fourteens at noon fitted 17 / indians with 10 days
 provisions / and sent them away to look / for deer
 this afternoon buried / Rich. Beaver one English man /
 and one Indian went to lye / out at ten shilling Creek
 a night / or two to kill patridges two / indians went
 likewise to the / fourteens to do the same and / one
 Indian went from the / house Kill'd 6 patridges /
 Wednesday the 20th a storm of / wind N.^otherly with
 much / drift / / [65]

Thursday the 21st fresh gale / of wind Ditto and drift
 our / English man and Indian return'd / this afternoon
 had no success /

Friday the 22^d fair weather / the wind W.^t 2 Indians
 went / a hunting 2 of the 17 Indians / returned one
 English man went / to see if y^e Rest were gone another /
 went with a note to the fourteens / returned in the

Evening /

Saturday the 23^d Cloudy weath / er wind E.sterly 5
hands came / from the fourteens brought 22 / patridges
2 Indians went a / hunting kill'd 1 patridge /

Sunday the 24th thick weath / weather wind S.^otherly
our 2 / Indians came from the four / teens brought
14 patridges /

Munday the 25th Clear / weather the wind ditto to /
day our people and the 2 indians / returned to y^e
fourteens 2 indians / went a hunting from y^e fort /
kill'd 4 patridges / / [66]

Tuesday the 26 Hazy warm / weather the wind strong
S.^otherly / the 2 Indians that came back / the other
day set out this morn^g / to follow the Rest one of our /
Indians went to lye out and / one English man went
a hunt / ing kill'd 2 patridges /

Wednesday the 27th wind / from the S.^o to the W.^t
weath.^r / ditto to day came one Indian / came from the
fourteens brought / 20 patridges one English and /
2 Indians went a hunting / kill'd 5 patridges the
Indian / getting what he came for / return'd to the
fourteens our / people heaving the snow / of all the
flankers /

Thursday the 28th last / night strong gales N.^otherly /
with snow and so remained / all day / / [67]

Friday the 29th Moderate / weather wind Easterly with /
small snow our people went to / cleaning the yard but
left when / snowed 2 indians went to hunt / kill'd
4 patridges /

Saturday the 30th Clear / weather wind S^o E.^t 3 English /
and 2 Indians came from the / fourteens brought with
them / 47 patridges and 4 Rabbits / one English and
2 Indians / to hunt from the fort kill'd / 17 patridges
& Rabbits 2 our / men cleaned the yard /

Sunday the 31st strong / gales at N.^o E.^t and East / with
snow /

Munday the February / the 1st wind Ditto much /
drift our people returned to / the fourteens & 3 Indians
went / there also to hunt a deer w^{ch} was seen / Saturday
last / / [68]

Tuesday the 2^d wind and / weather Ditto one English
went / a hunting had no success /

Wednesday the 3^d fresh gales / Ditto Clear sent one
hand / to the fourteens to hear what news / and one
Indian killd 2 patridges /

Thursday the 4th wind / West our man returned from /
the fourteens and one Indian / which brought 2
patridges / and one Rabbit one Indian a / hunting
kill'd 2 Rabbit & / one patridge /

Friday the 5th Clear / wind S^o W.^t 2 Indians went a /
hunting kill'd 8 patridges Tho.^s Dutton / went out
Likewise splitt his piece & / hurt his hand & froze
it also /

Saturday the 6^t wind & / weather ditto our men came
all / home from the fourteens one indian / came round
a hunting kill'd 7 / patridges 2 indians out a hunting /
had no success / / [69]

Sunday the 7th weather Ditto little wind / W.^terly /

Munday the 8th weather Ditto wind N.^o / W.^t I and 2
Indians went to lie out / one the North side of
portnelson to / kill patridges y^e 2 Mohawks likewise /
on y^e same acco.^t to ten shilling Creek /

Tuesday the 9th wind N.W.^o snow / & drift /

Wednesday the 10th moderate gales / W.N.W.^t w small
snow till noon / then Clear /

Thursday y^e 11th wind & weather ditto / Clear this
morn.^g whiskers came to the / factory starved gives a
very lamentable / relation of those indians y^t went
hence / w him Likewise an upland Indian & / his wife
came to y^e fort from up this / river^{ch} w traded some
beaver our mohawks / returned w 23th patridges our
men / cleaned y^e yard /

friday y^e 12^t little wind S.W.^o & smal / snow our men
continue at y^e same about / y^e pallasadoes our hunters
kill'd 10 / patridges & 1 Rabbit & we returned in /
Evening brought 69 patridges y^e uplander / & his wife
went away / / [70]

Saturday the 13th fair weath.^r / wind N.W.^o /

Sunday y^e 14th wind N.E.^o snow & / drift whiskers
returned to his / family w oatmeal & pease not / to
bring y^m to y^e fort /

Munday y^e 15th weath.^r Clear / wind N.^otherly 2 English
& 4 / Indians went to y^e N.^o side of / portnelson y^e
rest of our men / went to cut wood & fetcht it home /
for the fire from the back / of the house /

Tuesday y^e 16th Little wind / weath.^r ditto one hand
went to y^e / french creek returned at Even.^g / y^e Gov.^r

& M.^r Newton having words / turn'd him out of ^{his} \wedge house & took / from him the keys of ^e y Warehouse / from him having not been / himself since sunday night & / not without Just cause / / [71]

Wednesday ^e y 17th thick wind between / ^e y S^o & ^e y E.^t our men fetching fire wood / home this Even.^g came one Indian to / ^e y fort being ^e y french cap.^{ts} son little / nest who said his wife was coming / th w whiskers family hither /

Thursday ^e y 18th Clear weath.^r ditto ^{wind} \wedge our / W.^terly / friday ^e y 19th wind & weath.^r ditto our / fetcht home wood & those ^{ch} w went to / ^e y other side of portnelson return'd / brought 86 patridges this Even.^g / whiskers & ^{his} \wedge family came to ^e y fort ^e y / Gov.^r beat him & turn'd him out / for abusing us in giving a token / sent to me he giving it to one of / our men & likewise has been a / plague to us all this winter in / being lazy 2 English men out to / day caught nothing /

Saturday the 20th wind & weather / Ditto 2 indians a hunting kill'd / 9 patridges /

Sunday ^e y 21st wind N^o W.^t & / Clear / / [72]

Munday the 22^d fair weath.^r wind / ditto 4 hands went to ^e y N.^o side of / portnelson & 4 more to ^e y fourteens / to fish & hunt ^e y rest went to / fetch wood /

Tuesday the 23^d to day I & / another English th w four indians / set out for ^e y N.^o side of portnelson / to hunt deer /

Wednesday the 24th wind & / weath.^r ditto /

Thursday ^e y 25th little wind / fine weather our men

went / to wood & y^e french Cap.^{ts} son & / his wife
 went from the factory / this Even.^g /
 friday the 26 moderate / weath.^r wind ditto our men /
 went a hunting wooding /
 Saturday y^e 27th wind S^o W.^t / this Day & yesterday the
 snow / gave about the house our / men went a wooding
 & those / men returned from the french / Creek but
 caught no fish & our / hunters from portnelson brought/
 80 patridges / / [73]
 Sunday y^e 28th moderate gales W.^t / N.^o W.^t the snow
 melted about y^e / factory &c /
 Munday the 29th 1st of March / little wind S^o therly it
 continues / thawing this Evening 2 indians / came to
 y^e factory and the french / cap.^{ts} son that went away
 thursday / night returned with them they / all say it
 has been a very hard / winter however they presented /
 the Gov.^r with some tongues / & heads &c /
 Tuesday the 2^d snow & drift / wind N.^o W.^t the 3 Indians
 went / from the factory but the french / cap.^{ts} sons
 wife stayed here being / lame /
 Wednesday the 3^d moderate gales / ditto ^{to} day our
^{men} ^ went to woods this / Evening the dog slouch came
 up / with 2 wolves on the river fought / them both
 half an hour but / our men not coming to his /
 assistance they left him he not / being able to fight
 them any ^{longer} / / [74] to day 2 men returned from the /
^{longer} being
 deer hunters ^ not able to perform /
 Thursday the 4th wind S^o therly / thawy to day our men
 heaved y^e / snow out of y^e palasadoes /

Friday the 5th wind N.^oW.^t / blowed hard last night and /
to day Drift & snowed exceedingly / this day 3 indians
came to y^e / factory and traded some skins / and went
away in the Even.^g /

Saturday the 6th wind N.^otherly / hard gales with snow
and / drift /

Sunday the 7th wind N.^oW.^t / hard gales and drift fine /
weath.^r in y^e afternoon /

Munday the 8th fresh gales / Ditto clear and drift 12
of / our went to cut next winters / fireing^e at ten
shilling creek / the rest of our hands cleaned y^e / house
& platform of snow / / [75]

Tuesday the 9th moderate gales / N.^oW.^t clear weather
our men / worked y^e same the mohawk went / a hunting
kill'd 1 patridge /

Wednesday the 10th little wind / clear & sharp our men
at home went / a wooding & one man came from ten /
shilling creek to grind broken hatchets /

Thursday y^e 11th wind W.^t weather / ditto our men
worked ditto & y^e man / returned to ten shilling creek
y^e mohawk / went a hunting did not return at night /
we supposed he is gone to look for y^e deer / hunters /

Friday y^e 12th little wind between y^e / S.^o & y^e E.^t cloudy
to day our men did y^e / same and y^e mohawk return'd
brought 3 / patridges hard gales in y^e Even.^g snow & /
drift &c /

Saturday y^e 13th wind variable from y^e S.^o / E.^t to y^e
N.^oW.^t W.^terly some of our men / came from tenshilling
creek for provision / our hunters kill'd 7 patridges /

Sunday y^e 14th wind from west to north / weath.^r
ditto / / [76]

Munday y^e 15th fresh gales at N^o E.^t w / snow y^e men
returned to ten shilling / creek our men at home
pull'd down y^e / Crest work y^e french had put upon
y^e / cook r^oom &c /

Tuesday y^e 16th wind & weath.^r Ditto &c /

Wednesday y^e 17th wind & weath.^r y^e same /

Thursday y^e 18th little wind E.st w snow till / noon it
cleared up our men hove y^e snow / of y^e flankers /

Friday y^e 19th small winds E.^terly clear / weath.^r our men
went a wooding in y^e / plantation y^e mohawk & indian
boy went a / hunting kill'd 13 patridges to day
whiskers / went from y^e fort with his family &c /

Saturday y^e 20th wind ditto & thaw / this day our men
returned from / cutting y^e next winters wood our /
hunters kill'd 12 patridges our men at / home clean
y^e platform /

Sunday y^e 21st small wind y^e same / thaughed to day
3 indians came / from M.^r kelsey they having kill'd /
no deer as yet but brought some dried / flesh four
moose tongues & 3 noses ditto / &c / / [77]

Munday y^e 22^d wind & weath.^r ditto y^e 3 / indians & y^e
old womans boy return'd / y^e gov: began to overhaul
y^e stores our / hunters kill'd 9 patridges &c /

Tuesday y^e 23^d wind & weath.^r y^e same / our people
continue to work in y^e ware / house y^e mohawk kill'd
4 patridges &c /

Wednesday y^e 24th wind ditto w snow our / men went to

woods in ^ey morn.^g in ^ey / aftern.ⁿ got ^ey great mortar of
^ey platform / to ^ey E.^t end of ^ey Gov.^{rs} house without ^ey /
 fortification to day came in four indians / from ^ey.
 S.^oward /
 Thursday ^ey 25th strong gales N.^otherly thw / small snow
 & drift ^ey indians presented / ^ey gov.^r w some tongues
 heads & flesh & / traded some skins at Even.^g left
^ey / fort our hunters kill'd 12 patridges 2 / strangers
 indians came in from M.^r / kelsey no deer as yet /
 Friday ^ey 26th moderate gales between / ^ey N.^o & ^ey E.^t
 cloudy this day ^ey Indians / wife & ^ey french Capt.^s son
 came to ^ey / fort to day ^ey Indians traded he his / son
 & wife went away ^ey french Cap.^{ts} / son & wife went to
 lye at their tent / 13 patridges killd to day / / [78]
 Saturday ^ey 27th fresh gales S.^otherly / to day ^ey Gov.^r
 turn'd ^ey french cap.^{ts} / son & wife from ^ey fort but
 they went / & lay at ^ey tent in ^ey woods not / following
^ey other indians & 8 / patridges kill'd & c /
 Sunday ^ey 28th wind & weath.^r ditto / thawing /
 Munday ^ey 29th variable winds for / ^ey most part E.sterly
 thawy to day / our men went to woods our hunters /
 kill'd 29 patridges snowed this / morn.^g /
 Tuesday ^ey 30th thick weath.^r wind / N.^otherly to day I
 came to ^ey fort / brought 20 Deers tongues & & / deer
 sides there being no Deer those / Indians I had seen
 being 5 tents / came to ^ey factory also this Even.^g /
 fired the great mortar twice / our hunters kill'd 31
 patridges / & c Batt Entertain'd /
 Wednesday ^ey 31st wind variable / small snow our men

went to woods / & our hunters kill'd 7 patridges
Rich.^d / stanton broke his gun &c / / [79]

Thursday y^e april yst 1 wind and weath / weath.^r ditto
to day digged 2 barrels of / beer out buried last fall
made a feast / for the indians told them they must /
goe out of our way y^t our people might / hunt which
they agreed too our hunt / ers kill'd 30 patridges /

Friday the 2^d wind and weather / ditto our hunters
kill'd 19 patridges / fired one of the Brass pieces
3 times / one tent of the Indians went over the / river
pointed some palasadoes to / day &c /

Saturday the 3^d fine weather wind / S^otherly thawed
our hunters kill'd 84 / patridges and 2 Rabbits some
of the / indians went away likewise 3 came / from
those indians to the Southward / which say there is
no deer &c /

Sunday the 4th strong gales at / N.^oE.^t close weather
more indians / went away and having left but / one
tent which removed into the / plantation &c / / [80]

Munday the 5th wind N.^oE.^t with / snow sleet and rain
thawed much / the 3 indians that came a / saturday
last went away and / another with them /

Tuesday the 6^t much snow / last night wind N.^otherly
our / hunters kill'd 55 patridges and / one indian came
from the / fourteens brought 8 rabbits traded / them
for 5 pints of oatmeal / turn'd one indians out of the /
fort /

Wednesday the 7th wind ditto / with small snow our
hunters / kill'd 82 patridges and 11 / rabbits and the

indians return'd / to his tent at the fourteens /
 Thursday the 8th strong / gales ditto clear our hunters /
 kill'd 57 patridges /
 friday the 9th fine weath^r wind S^otherly / thawed our
 hunters killd 59 / patridges and one rabbit one indian
 & / his wife came to y^e fort from up the river who / says
 there is no deer / / [81]

Saturday the 10th wind and weather ditto / our hunters
 kill'd 78 patridges those / at home hove snow out of
 the yard to / day came 2 indians from the Islands /
 that brou^{gh}t 6 rabbits so traded and / went away /
 Sunday the 11th wind and weath^r / ditto 2 indians came
 in from the / south side of the river one of which /
 traded and went away the other / stayed here thawed
 very much / to day /

Munday the 12th fine weath^r / wind N^otherly small frost
 last / night to day came 7 indians from / the south
 shore who traded and / went away gave us acco^t. some
 deer / had past yesterday another said / he saw two
 geese our hunters / kill'd 11 patridges clear'd the /
 platform of water / / [82]

Tuesday the 13th wind and weather / variable our
 hunters kill'd 10 patridges / clear'd part of the trading
 room / here came tents of indians to y^e / fort /

Wednesday the 14th thick / weather ^{wind variable} ^ this morning
 made an / end clearing the trading room / and told
 delivered into y^e warehouse / whole parchment beaver
 158 / coat ditto 208 half ditto 110 / otter 10 and
 muse skins 9 receivd / some goods into y^e trading

room / &c told into the warehouse 38 / coat beaver
26 half and 12 whole / parchment fired the mortar /
twice /

Thursday the 15th cold snowy / Blowing weather wind
N^o E.^t / to day our people went to carry / y^e things
over y^e river for goose hunting / Likewise to carry
y^e sawed plank to y^e / fourteen house / / [83]

friday the 16th Clear weath^r wind / N^otherly to day our
people returned from / the other side having help the
goose / hunters to their place and removed / the plank
the indians likewise traded / to day 3 patridges kill'd
and 3 hundred / of musket shott cast into pistol /
buttertooth kept /

Saturday the 17th wind and weath.^r / ditto some of the
indians went away / and our indians returned from /
up the river who says he saw / some geese but no deer
one hand / came from the goose tent for / provision
6 patridges kill'd to day / and one Rabbit our men
Clipt shot / for trading /

Sunday the 18th wind W.^terly / cold more indians went
away / guyers clild went from the factory /

Munday y^e 19th moderate weath.^r wind N.^o / W.^t our men
went to woods for firing some / indians went away
to y^e south side & our / hunters killd 24 patridges &
said saw one goose / / [84]

Tuesday the 20th fair weather wind / ditto thawed a
little our men / continue wooding sawed some / board
att the fort our hunters kill'd / 19 patridges /

Wednesday the 21st thawy / wind E^terly one hand went

to / the goose tent one ^ey south side / the ramaing
 part of those indians / that came from the southward /
 went away from the fort and / in the evening our hand
 returned / brought 24 patridges run more / shott our
 hunters kill'd kill'd ^d10 / patridges /

Thursday the 22 wind / and weather ditto our men
 work / heaving the snow out of the garden / and some
 a clipping the shott some / more indians went away
 our / hunters kill'd ^d24 patridges / / [85]

Friday the 23^d Clear wind S^otherly / much thaw our
 men made an end / of clearing the garden the
 remaining / part of the indians went away / except
 those belonged to the fort / one English and one
 mohawk / came from the tent on the other / side
 brought 91 patridges fired / the mortar twice this
 even. one break^g / factory went away also /

Saturday the 24th wind and / weath.^r ditto to day gott
 six minnion / minnion guns of the flankers / our man
 returned to his tent saw four / geese one tent of
 Indians came starv'd / from the south side /

Sunday the 25th fair weath.^r / wind ditto saw several
 geese the / Indians went a hunting one of whi / which
 killd 4 & brought ^my to ^ey / Govern.^r traded 3 of ^my for
 oatmeal / / [86]

Munday the 26th fog, this morn.^g / till nine it cleared &
 thawed / much our hunters kill'd 2 geese / one of
 which kitt spencer killd / and one indian came from
 the / tent on the south side who / say'd they had
 kill'd no geese / but had 4 which indians kil'd /

Likewise another indian and / his wife came from
 this side of / portnelson saying he has / seen no geese
 yet our people at / home went to woods removed /
 the plank and hove away / the snow from the N^o E^t
 corner / of the house toward Evening / it rain'd wind
 N^o E^t strong / gales /

Tuesday the 27th wind ditto frost / last night & snowed
 to day one indian / came from y^e french creek return'd
 in / the Even.^g to his tent our men hove y^e / snow from
 about y^e pinnace / / [87]

Wednesday the 28th wind and / weath.^r ditto the tent of
 Indians that / was in the plantation went away to go /
 up the river to hunt geese for a night / or two but
 finding the river broak / up aloft returned Likewise
 another / tent which was on the south side / of
 portnelson came hither having / seen no geese and
 the Indian w^{ch} / came from our people on the south /
 shore returned /

Thursday the 29th thick weath.^r / wind ditto went a
 hunting had no / success our men at home work a /
 doubling the E.^t side of the cook / room one indian
 came from the / south side y^e river out of y^e plains /
 who says there is many geese and / brough 4 with him
 4 of our men / went into the marsh with a / tent /

Friday the 30th weath.^r clear / wind ditto this morn.^g
 M^r Bishop / came to the fort brought nothing / by
 reason of bad weath^r we continue / about the cook
 room y^e indian return'd / y^t brought y^e 4 geese & 2 more
 wth him / / [88]

Saturday the 1st of may this morn.^g / M.^r Bishop returned
 being fine / weather little wind S.^otherly went / a
 hunting kill'd one goose also / came one hand from
 the tent / in the marsh for provision / they having
 but few geese our / people continue about the / cook
 room /

Sunday the 2^d snowed last / night continues the same
 to / day with strong gales at N.^o / E.^terly one of our
 indians went / over the river yesterday Even.^g / to lye
 there likewise those / belonging to the tents in the /
 plantation returned from y^e / other side brought 2
 geese /

Munday the 3^d wind & weath.^r ditto / till ten this
 morn.^g clearing up & strong / gales at E.^t our indian
 returned from / tother side no success went a hunting
 but / no game but batt kill'd 9 patridges & 1 Rabbit
 our man likewise return'd to y^e tent / in the marsh
 our men hove y^e snow of y^e / flankers & out of the
 yard / / [89]

Tuesday the 4th rain'd har'd last night / wind S.^otherly
 cleared this morning went / a hunting kill'd 9 Geese
 had storms for / this 2 days past /

Wednesday the 5 little wind variable / went a hunting
 no game one hand / went to y^e tent in the marsh
 brought / one goose /

Thursday the 6th fair weath.^r wind ditto / went a hunting
 kill'd 2 geese sent one / hand to the tent on the south
 side / but the creeks running came back / M.^r Newton
 came from y^t tent brought / 10 geese /

friday the 7th Cloudy fresh gales / S^otherly went a
 hunting kill'd 12 geese / our man return'd to the tent
 on tother / side and some indians that was at y^e french /
 creek came over with their tents to y^e / fort /

Saturday y^e 8th clear wind ditto went a hunting / kill'd
 10 geese one indian came from y^e french / creek brought
 11 geese who return'd in y^e Even.^g to / day was finished
 a frame for a cook room & / smith shop / / [90]

Sunday the 9th wind from the E^t to / S^oE^t fine weath.^r
 with

^ some rain in the / Evening 2 hands with one
 mohawk / came from the goose tent on the S^o / side
 this morning brought 39 geese / likewise 1 hand from
 the tent in the / marsh brought 1 ditto our hunters /
 kill'd 7 geese & some /

Munday the 10th wind & weath^r / variable went a
 hunting killd 2 / geese and some ducks our people /
 repact the salt meat and the men / return'd to their
 tent in the marsh / took our 2 indians with him and /
 the carpenters a refitting the / boats /

Tuesday the 11th Cloudy wind N.E.^ot / went a hunting
 kill'd one goose / & some ducks the carpenters /
 remain doing the boats /

Wednesday the 12th one hand came from / y^e tent in
 y^e marsh brought 3 geese & 1 swan / y^e carpenters ^{continue} are
^{to work} working upon y^e boats y^e / hunters kill'd 2 geese &
 ^ some ducks wind / E^terly clear weath.^r / / [91]

Thursday the 13th wind S^otherly / weather ditto the
 hand return'd to the / tent this morn.^g our carpenters
 are working / upon the boats about 2 afternoon one

hand / came from y^e tent in y^e marsh who brought /
 6 geese & a Gun to be mended w^{ch} being done / he
 returned to the tent our hunters kill'd / 7 geese this
 night M^r Kelsey & M^r spencer / lay at the tent in
 y^e marsh till y^e / & to lye out till y^e govern^r. made a
 signal / for their return /

Friday y^e 14th an indian traded 4 / geese wth the gov^r.
 for powder & shott one / hand came from the goose
 tent in y^e marsh / for powder & shott he brought
 4 geese / he return'd to y^e tent at again our / hunters
 kill'd 18 geese one swan & / some ducks likewise
 3 hands went / from the fort to y^e tent at marsh / &
 brought from thence 18 geese our / Carpenters are
 working upon y^e boats / little wind E^terly wth rain in
 y^e aftern.ⁿ / / [92]

Saturday the 15th wind N^otherly thick / weath^r. our
 carpenters a fixing y^e boats / & making Oars our
 hunters kill'd 5 / geese & 1 duck some hands went to
 y^e / tent in y^e marsh & brought from thence / 13 geese
 some indians came from y^e S^o / side one of w^{ch} traded
 13 geese wth y^e govern^r / for powder & shott one hand
 came from / y^e tent in y^e marsh for flower /

Sunday y^e 16th hard gales E^terly wth rain / hail thunder
 & snow this morn.^g about / 4 y^e river broke up /

Munday y^e 17th little winds N^otherly clear / weath^r. in
 y^e aftern.ⁿ y^e hand y^e came for / flower returned to y^e
 tent y^e indian y^e / traded y^e geese on saturday Inform'd
 y^e / gov. y^e there was some carpenters tools in / a boat
 w^{ch} was upon the South side / w^{ch} we suppose to be the

deerings long / boat which drove from the ship^r in^r /
 bad weath.^r so the gov.^r sent 2 hands / in the yaul &
 the indian but they / could not cometh near the boat
 for ice / / [93] the yaul returned wth the 2 hands & /
 brought 2 corking irons a hamer & auger / which they
 had from the indians tent / which he gott out of her
 before this / Evening 4 cannoes of indians came /
 down the river to the fort upon w^{ch} / the governer made
 the signal for / M^r kelsey's return to the fort who /
 returned to with another hand that / came for powder
 & shott /

Tuesday the 18th fresh gales N^o E.^t sent / four hands to
 the tent in y^e marsh who / brought from thence forty
 geese traded / with those indians that came /
 yesterday /

Wednesday the 19th wind & weath.^r / ditto this morning
 gott some timber to / the E^t End of the governors
 house & / some hands went into the marsh / who
 returned with small game told / beav.^r into y^e
 warehouse / / [94]

Thursday the 20th fair weath^r wind / ditto this morning
 came six cannoes / which traded and went away
 about / noon in the Evening came an / indian from
 the french creek / brought 2 geese traded & went /
 away our hunters killd 6 geese / & some small fowls
 &c /

Friday the 21st wind and weath^r / ditto this morning
 the four cannoes / that came first went away I and
 3 / I and 3 hands went with a boat / to ten shilling

creek another boat / went likewise to the tent on the /
 South side and 2 hands went / into the marsh to fetch
 geese / brought 20 we gott four / trout our hunters
 kill'd / one goose and some small / fowls / / [95]

Saturday the 22^d fair weather wind / ditto went again
 to ten shilling / creek caught nine fish our boat /
 return'd from tother side brought / 80 geese and one
 of their hands / for things they want who says / they
 have about four hundred / geese at their tent our
 hunters / kill'd 2 geese /

Sunday the 23^d fresh gales at / S^o E^t one hand came from
 the / tent in the marsh brought 1 / goose the indians
 brought 15 / geese and traded /

Munday the 24th fine weath.^r / little wind S^o therly one
 boat / went to the S^o side with our / man which came
 from thence / and another went to ten shilling / creek
^{ch} w brought some fish three / cannoes came down this
 afternoon who / says there is more a coming our boat
 came / from tother side & a canoe w 3 indians who
brought / brought from our tent 25 geese likewise 25
 geese / Likewise 24 from our marsh &c lancht our
 boats / afloat told beaver into the warehouse / / [96]

Tuesday the 25th thick weath.^r / wind N^o therly this
 morning the / indians traded and went away & / one
 canoe came to the fort our / boat went to ten shilling
 creek / caught some fish to day pull'd / down part of
 the palasadoes on / the E.^t side of the governer's /
 house and batt came from / the tent in the marsh
 who / says but few geese there / Likewise some indians

from / tother side ^{that} ^ says the same / told beaver into
the warehouse /

Wednesday the 26 rainy weath.^r / wind S^otherly the
cannoe that / came yesterday traded this / morning
began to raise a work / on the W.^t side of y^e gov.^{rs} house
bat / returned to y^e tent in y^e marsh / / [97]

Thursday the 27th fine weath.^r / till about noon wind
came E^terly / with rain two boats went to the / goose
tent on the south side / return'd in the Evening
brought / 125 geese I likewise went to ten / shilling
creek caught some fish / one hand came from the tent /
in the marsh and says the geese / are gone work'd to
day fortification / the S^o side of the Governors house /
the canoe that traded / yesterday went away /

Friday the 28th fresh gales at / E^terly with fog and rain
19 cannoes / came to the fort our 2 boats went again /
to tother side to fetch the men the & / their things
Likewise our hunters / came home from the marsh
continue / to on the Gov.^{rs} house / / [98]

Saturday the 29th snowed hard wind / ditto traded
those cannoes that came / yesterday 18 more came
to day & our / boats return'd from tother side & /
brought all the men & 19 geese /

Sunday the 30th fresh gales S^otherly / Cloudy with rain
traded those indians / that came yesterday 21 cannoes /
to day /

Munday the 31st wind N^o E^t Cloudy / our carpenters &
hands continue / working upon the governors house /
to day 3 cannoes came to the fort / and some sayled

having traded / told Beaver into the warehouse /
 Tuesday the 1st June wind / S^otherly with some rain
 about 16 / or 17 cannoes came to day / likewise I traded
 those came / yesterday part of w^{ch} went away / / [99]
 Wednesday June the 2^d thick / weath^r. wind N^otherly
 the indians / that came yesterday traded & / went
 away 3 of our indians sent / over the river to hunt
 deer gott 2 / guns mounted in the governors / house &
 took up part of the platform / being decayed told
 Beaver into the / warehouse /

Thursday the 3^d wind E^terly fresh / gales to day pull'd
 down the breast / work of the E^t and south flankers
 & / laid part of the platform several / cannoes came
 down this afternoon / amongst which came one of
 the / french men /

friday the 4th strong gales S^otherly / with rain here
 came a large fleet / of cannoes to the fort likewise a /
 small parcel came from portnelson / by land traded
 some to day our men / took up more of the platform /
 being defective / / [100]

Saturday the 5th fair weath^r / wind S^otherly with
^{some cannoes came to}
rain here day / our people made an end of
 the / platform & gott our guns in their / places we
 have now about 50 / cannoes at the fort /

Sunday the 6 wind N^otherly / weather ditto some
 came to day / & others went away our frenchman /
 and bat went up the river to / hunt deer /

Munday the 7th fair weath^r. / wind ditto some cannoes /
 came to day & others went / away we begun to lay

the / foundation of a platform / at the East end of
 the / Governors house and some / hands went to the /
 fourteens to gett the plank / down the river / / [101]
 Tuesday the 8th some rain and / snow last night ^{wind} came
^{N^otherly} / to day / fair weather to day some cannoes / came to
 day traded all the rest / and told the Beaver out of
 the / trading room into the warehouse / melted more
 small shott to make / caliver /
 Wednesday the 9th rainy weath.^r / wind S^o therly about
 20 cannoes / came to day and some went / away /
 Thursday the 10th thick weath.^r / wind N^o therly all the
 indians / traded and went away 27 cannoes / of stone
 indians came this / Evening /
 Friday the 11th wind & weath.^r / Ditto to day came 14
 cannoes / likewise 3 indians from tother / side we gott
 the 2 guns of the / lower platform up on the new /
 platform at the E^t end of the / / [102]
 Saturday the 12 clear weather wind / N^o therly W.^t our
 people returned from / the fourteens having gott the
 plank / to the rivers mouth to day the stone / Indians
 traded and went away four / cannoes came down the
 river and / some indians from portnelson / cast more
 shott /
 Sunday the 13th wind and weath.^r / ditto traded to day
 part of the / Indians went away others stayed / for
 want of caliver shott /
 Munday the 14th Clear wind / E^t erly 3 boats went to
 the fourteens / to fetch boards and to secure the /
 albemarle with an anchor and / hasser which they

carried with / them one boat came with a raft / to
 the rivers mouth and to the / fort in the night all the
 Indians / traded & went away four cannoes / came
 to day told the beaver out of / y^e trading room into
 y^e warehouse / / [103]

Tuesday the 15th wind and weath.^r / ditto our tother
 boat came to the fort / about noon with the quantitie
 of boards / being sixty eight two cannoes came to /
 day traded and went away at Ebb our / pinnice went
 for the remainder of the / boards one canoe came
 down this / Evening /

Wednesday the 16th wind and / weather the same the
 indians traded / and went away Likewise an indian /
 came from tother side we begun to / raise the Bullwark
 of the platform / at the East end of the Governors
 house / some indians came from portnelson / saying
 they are 19 cannoes all of stone / indians /

Thursday the 17th fair weather / wind variable to day
 came the / french man from tother side brought /
 some fish Likewise some indians / with deers flesh
 and the indians / that came down portnelson came /
 all to the fort & traded part of / their Beaver last
 night our pinnace / / [104] return'd with the rest of
 the / plank /

friday the 18th wind E^terly / weath.^r ditto to day came
 3 / cannoes to the for with deers / flesh best part of
 those indians / that had traded went away our /
 people set up palasadoes to secure / the bank and the
 french man / went over the river to fish & hunt /

Likewise those indians that / came from tother side
 went over / with them /

Saturday the 19th fine weath.^r / wind S^otherly traded the
 deers / flesh that came yesterday four / cannoes came
 to day that went / from hence 2 days ago continue /
 securing the bank and told / the Beaver into the /
 warehouse / / [105]

Sunday the 20th wind S^otherly / some rain this morning
 the french / man came over brought some fish / and
 fowl likewise came 3 cannoes of / Indians that went
 from hence / sometime since having seen no / deer and
 those indians stayed / behind the rest went away this /
 morning being six cannoes /

Munday the 21st fair weath.^r / wind E^terly 2 boats went
 this / morning to ten shilling creek to / raft Likewise
 the frenchman / went over to the nets 2 cannoes / of
 indians came to the fort / from tother side brought
 nothing / our boats return'd at Evening / having made
 the rafts but / could gett them home / tide being
 spent /

Torn out till July the 2^d / / [106]
 friday the 2^d wind S^oW hott weath.^r / several indians
 came from the S^o Side of / the river to the fort our
 Carpenters / and hands are working as yesterday /
 Saturday the 3^d fair weath.^r wind / between the N^o and
 E^t small gales / I returned to the fort about 4 this /
Evening afternoon gott to the / seafords pinnace
 yesterday about / the same time corkt her and launcht /
 her being about 45 miles from / the fort came away

this morn.^g / about four a clock some plain / indians
arrived att the fort / since I went away and remain /
here still /

Sunday the 4th much rain / last night with strong gales /
variable from the S W to the N^o / E^t the indians
brought some / deers flesh and tongues & had / given^e
y^r Gov. 2 young foxes & one / young martin / / [107]

Munday the 5th fresh gales at N^o E^t / sent 2 boats to the
albemarle to see / to get her of continue at home to
pack / beaver and fill cannon baskets & to / secure
the bank /

Tuesday the 6th moderate gales / variable 2 hands came
from y^e abbemarle / who went to help them with the
boats / & brought news of a white whale drove /
a shore which I brought shott last / saturday comeing
up with y^e seafords / pinnice our people continue to
work / as formerly & y^e gov.^r went with y^e / yaul to
sound y^e channels /

Wednesday y^e 7th small winds N^o / therly I went with our
pinnace to / fetch y^e whale one indian came / from
portnelson brought 2 young / foxes & some tongues
bat went / away to day with indians upon / acco.^t of
making a peace wth his / country people y^e w^{ch} we
incouraged as / much as possible much rain to day
return'd / at even to his y^e fort / / [108]

Thursday y^e 8th wind & weath.^r ditto / dried up y^e whale
& continue to work / as formerly the carpenters
raising / the uper work of the cook / room /

Friday the 9th fair weath.^r wind / E^terly to day y^e gov.^r

went at high / water w^{th e} y^e yoall to y^e albemarle / in
 hopes to get her of continue at / home to work as P
 yesterday / &c /

Saturday the 10th fair weath^r / wind ditto this afternoon
 the / Governer came home said had / moved the
 albemarle a small / matter but could not gett her off /
 continue to work as formerly about / the fort /

Sunday the 11th last night much / rain wind between
 the S.^o & y^e W^t / & so about to y^e N^o E^t this morn.^g / &
 cleared up / / [109]

Munday the 12th cloudy wind E^terly wth / rain this
 morn.^g went to y^e albemarle / with a cannoe they
 having hove / her off about her lenght^t returned in /
 y^e aftern.ⁿ they having workt at / home a putting of
 pieces of old / boats & filling y^m wth stones to secure /
 y^e banks & pulling down y^e chimney / y^e Gov.^{rs} house &
 y^e french man went / up y^e river to see if deer crost /
 Tuesday y^e 13th wind & weath.^r ditto set / up palasadoes
 to secure y^e bank y^e / carpenters continue to work as
formerl / formerly /

Wednesday y^e 14th wind W^terly clear this / morn.^g workt
 as yesterday till / about noon sent our pinnace to /
 ten shilling creek for a raft & I went / over y^e river
 to a smoak w^{ch} proved to be / Indians who said our
 people were / coming from y^e albemarle by land / so
 stay'd & brought 4 of y^m in y^e cannoe / to y^e fort in y^e
 even.^g &c said they had / hove y^e vessel of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cable
 &c / / [110]

Thursday y^e 15th wind & weath.^r ditto more / Indians

came over to day one of w^{ch} inform'd us / y^e Gov.^r of a
 boat half way between this & / severn upon w^{ch} I &
 9 hands w^{th e} y indian set / out to fetch her in a Shallop
 our hands return'd / wth a raft from tenshilling creek
 our carpenters / & hands working as formerly /
 Friday y^e 16th wind E^terly weath^r ditto y^e indians /
 Traded some dried flesh & tongues y^e boy Jack / &
 tom y^e mohawk went to y^e nets at y^e / fourteen river &
 brought some fish work / ditto /
 Saturday y^e 17th wind W^terly weath.^r hott y^e boy / Jack
 & Tom y^e mohawk went to y^e nets again / brought some
 fish & small fowl our hands work / ditto likewise
 2 indians brought 100 or 200 small / fowl /
 Sunday y^e 18th wind & weath.^r ditto thunder light / ning
 & rain last night and some to / day /
 Munday y^e 19th wind E^terly moderate weath.^r some /
 hands went over to y^e S^o shore to raft some drift / wood
 but return'd without it they having not made / it near
 Enough to low water mark so y^t it did not / float at
 high water our hands are working upon y^e / Palasadoes
 & our carpenters as formerly / / [111]
 Tuesday y^e 20th winds S W hot weath.^r some / hands went
 again to y^e S^o shore to raft more drift / wood w^{ch} they
 brought at high water 2 hands went to / lye out in y^e
 marsh to look out for ships y^e rest / workt as yesterday
 fired the great mortar / twice /
 Wednesday y^e 21st little winds W^terly weath.^r ditto this
 even.^g / saw 2 vessels in y^e offn w^{ch} we could not make
 so prepared / for an enemy & divided our hand into

3 watches /

Thursday y^e 22^d wind N^o E^t wth fog this morn.^g gott to y^e
fort / wth y^e long boat & shallop found y^e long boat
about 33 / leagues from hence being y^e same y^e hudsons
bay lost / years since & little y^e worse upon my arrival /
some hands went to y^e albemarle to get her off y^e /
indian y^t went wth me for y^e boat is entertained in y^e /
fort to hunt /

friday y^e 23^d wind S^o therly wth rain our boat went to
y^e french / creek for a raft our carpenters work as
formerly some of / y^e indians went away at high for
portnelson at h^{our boat}igh return'd / at high water wth y^e raft /
Saturday y^e 24th wind N^o therly a hard gale thick weath.^r
to day / y^e french man return'd from up y^e river by
himself brought / wth him some fresh deers flesh & a
young live deer w^{ch} / died soon after by reason being
tyed so long in y^e / cannoe 2 hands likewise came from
y^e albemarle / saying they had gott her a good distance
of & had broke / their anchor so sent another away
immediately & y^e indians / y^t were about y^e house went
away up y^e river &c / / [112]

Sunday y^e 25th wind between y^e N^o. & y^e W^t. fresh gales /
this morn.^g I went aboard y^e ship wth our pinnace / at
 $\frac{3}{4}$ flood floated & stood of when had 2 fathom water /
came away wth y^e boat to y^e fort y^e ship at high water /
came to anchor in y^e mouth of y^e river & about 6 this /
Even.^g weighed & y^e gott to y^e fort about 9 /

Munday y^e 26th wind W^t erly fair weath.^r to day repaired
y^e / slip & secured y^e bank y^e french man went up y^e river

to / see for more deer & one hand came from y^e tent
 in y^e marsh / brought some small fowls at Even' Even.^g
 y^e wind came / E^terly & blowed fresh /
 Tuesday y^e 27th little wind variable fine weath.^r to day /
 brought 2 long boats of stones to secure y^e bank y^e
 carpenters / continue to work as formerly /
 Wednesday y^e 28th wind & weath.^r D^o our cannoe return'd /
 from y^e french creek brought some fish & fowl our /
 boats continue to fetch stones in y^e even.^g 2 cannoes
 came / down y^e river wth deers flesh y^e w^{ch} I traded &
 our yaul / went to tenshilling creek for charcoal 2
 cannoes / went over y^e river to fish & hunt sett one
 net at y^e / point of y^e marsh /
 Thursday y^e 29th wind & weath.^r D^o to ^ this day morn.^g four /
 a clock came one cannoe from up y^e river wth deers /
 flesh traded it & all 3 went away together our boats /
 went gathering of stones to do as formerly some /
 hands a hunting kill'd small fowls heard a noise / like
 a great gun at 11 a clock /
 Friday y^e 30th wind N^otherly squally weath.^r continue
 to / fetch stones our carpenters work as formerly &
 y^e / 2 cannoes return'd from tother side brought some /
 small fowl some hands hunted in marsh did y^e same /
 Saturday y^e 31st wind & weath.^r D^o today pulld down y^e
 E^t / flanker y^t Joyned to y^e warehouse likewise took part
 of y^e / powder out of y^e powder room it being moist
 without / side to sort it out hunters kill'd some small
 fowl / this evening came an Indian girl to y^e fort who
 said / there was a woman coming also / / [113]

Sunday august y^e 1st fair weath^r wind W^terly our indian went a / hunting but had no success y^e woman I mentioned yesterday / came here to day being left behind by those y^t went over / portnelson & almost starved y^e Gov.^r gave her a quart of oatmea / oatmeal & at Even^g. wind came about E^terly hawld y^e albemarle / ashore to dry at low water /

Munday y^e 2^d Cloudy a strong gales at E^t. this morn^g: gott y^e / powder into y^e trading room & stowed it in y^e beav.^r wth 2 bundles / all round it & 4 bundles on y^e top & gott our muskets all / loaded & put in y^e armoury w^{ch} is on y^e top of y^e Gov.^{rs} house / where y^e chimney was pull'd down took up some of y^e / platform before y^e door of y^e same house to new lay it & 2 / hands went a hunting kill'd some small fowl one / hand came from y^e look out tent brought some likewise / made wads for y^e great guns /

Tuesday y^e 3^d fair weath.^r wind variable from W.^t to y^e E.^t N^otherly / to day fetcht 4 boats of stones **** ^{to secure} [^] y^e bank
*** went & unhung y^e / albemarles ruther to mend it likewise kept a day watch of / one hand on y^e house & laid part of y^e platform by y^e great / gate 2 hands went a hunting in y^e marsh killd some small / fowl &c burt match all night /

Wednesday y^e 4th wind between y^e S & y^e E^t hazzy to day fetcht 4 / boats of stones & 2 cannoes went over y^e river one hand a / hunting in y^e marsh had small game one of y^m came from y^e / tent wth a broken gun gott another & return'd our carpenters / made an end of

laying y^e platform one of y^m to making a new / ruther
 for y^e albemarle of plank y^e old one being of no use /
 Thursday y^e 5th strong gales at E. w much rain our
 carpent / ers work in y^e Gov.^{rs} house this Even.^g one
 cannoe return'd from / tother side brought home y^e
 nets & 5 ducks /

friday y^e 6th fair weath.^r little wind E^terly this morn.^g
 put up / orders of quartering y^e men & fetcht 2 boats
 of stones one hand / went hunting in y^e marsh brought
 some fish & fowl to day / pact some beaver /

Saturday y^e 7th wind & weath.^r ditto to day fetcht 2
 boats of stones / & pulld down y^e y^e french battery pact
 y^e rest of y^e beav.^r our / hunters killd some small fowl
 in y^e Even.^g our indian / returnd from tother side
 brought best part of a deer & about 2 / dozzen of
 ducks /

Sunday y^e 8th wind between y^e N^o & y^e E.^t moderate gales
 clear one / hand y^t came from y^e tent in y^e marsh
 yesterday return'd this / morn.^g & one hand went to
 y^e nets in y^e marsh brought some / fish & small fowl /
 Munday y^e 9th fine weath.^r wind ditto to day 11 a clock
^{sent} ^ 3 boats a rafting / wth seven men in each our carpenters
 cut out loop holes in y^e N.^o / & W.^t flankers & mended
 y^e steps Gov.^{rs} slip our hunters kill'd some / small
 fowl / / [114]

Tuesday y^e 10th this morn.^g at 3 our boats return'd
 having / brought their rafts to y^e Creeks mouth &
 went / for y^e rafts & brought y^m to y^e fort at 3 in y^e even.^g
 our carpenters / work upon y^e ruther our hunters

kill'd some fowl & brought some / fish /
 Wednesday y^e 11th wind E^terly fair weath.^r at 11 y^e morn.^g
 our 3 boats / went again a rafting to tenshilling creek
 a tent of plain / indians y^t came munday last went
 hence to y^e S^oward to day / our hunters kill'd some
 fowl & some fish caught in y^e nets in y^e / marsh /
 Thursday y^e 12th fine weath.^r wind between y^e N^o & y^e W.^t
 to day / about noon I brought our rafts to y^e creeks
 mouth so left y^m & / came home wth y^e boats & out hunters
 kill'd some small fowl & / caught some fish /
 Friday y^e 13th thick fog wind N^otherly at noon went for
 our / rafts at four this Even.^g gott y^m to y^e fort one
 indian came fro / from portnelson who says y^e rest of
 his family is there / being y^e french Cap.^t our hunters
 kill'd some small fowl & one / goose also some fish/
 Saturday y^e 14th Cloudy wind S^otherly last night one
 of y^e rafts / broak away it being very thick I sent 2
 hands wth a yaul but / could not find it this morn.^g
 clear'd a little could see it from / y^e fort our people
 carryed 3 rafts up y^e bank at high water / fetcht y^e
 raft y^t drove away last night our hunters kill'd / some
 small fowl & one goose y^e french man told me he found /
 a dead man in y^e marsh so sent 4 hands to see it proved
 to / be Tho.^s Bullears boy & y^t died of y^e rivers mouth
 last fall / french Cap.^t came 3 cannoes /
 Sunday y^e 15th fair weath.^r wind S^otherly one hand went
 to y^e net / caught some fish /
 Munday y^e 16th little wind ditto this morn.^g 2 o Clock
 our 3 / boats went to ten shilling creek to rafting

& in y^e Even.^g / they all return'd two of y^m brought
 their rafts w y^{th m e} y^e other / came aground being y^e last
 of w was cut in y^e spring /

Tuesday y^{e th} 17 strong gales from y^{e t} E to y^{e o th} N. w rain
 this / even.^g 8 a Clock saw a fire made at y^e french
 Creek /

Wednesday y^{e th} 18 fresh gales N^otherly to day carryed
 3 rafts / of wood up y^e bank y^e indians y^t made y^e fire
 at y^e french creek / last night came to y^e fort reporting
 they heard great guns / a sunday last our hunters
 kill'd some fowl & fish caught / some fish /

Thursday y^{e th} 19 fair weath.^r wind S^otherly this morn.^g
 four a / clock our 3 boats went up y^e river a rafting
 wth 23 men to / day all y^e indians went over y^e river &
 in y^e aftern.ⁿ we saw / a smoak w^{ch} was to be a signal
 they saw ships our hunters / kill'd some fowl &
 fish / / [115]

friday y^{e th} 20 wind W^terly weath.^r ditto this Even.^g
 11 a clock our / boats came down w their rafts /

Saturday y^{e st} 21 fresh gales N^otherly cloudy w squallsth
 of / rain our hunters killd some small fowl & fish /
 Sunday y^{e d} 22 clear wind more W^terly one hand went
 to y^e nett / caught some fish fresh gales /

Munday y^{e d} 23 white frost wind S^o W^t clear this morn.^g
 four a / clock M^r Bishop wth six hands went w y^{th e} shallop
 to y^e fourteens / to lye out a goose hunting our men
 at home carryed 4 / rafts of wood up y^e bank /

Tuesday y^{e th} 24 wind & weath.^r ditto our hands carryed
 up 2 / rafts more they being y^e last /

Wednesday y^e 25th wind W^terly Blowing rainy weath.^r /
 last night clear to day more hands went to lye out
 in our / marsh in 2 tents a goose hunting & some hands
 went up / y^e river to make charcoal but seeing a ship^r
 at 10 in y^e morn.^g / all y^e hands return'd home y^e gov.
 sent me & eight / hands to y^e marsh to lye till we knew^{t e}
 w y^e ship was or / untill further orders /
 Thursday y^e 26th Clear weath.^r wind ditto this morn^g
 4 a / Clock our 2 pinnaces man'd went to see to make^e
 y^e ship / he hoisting a red Ensign at his maintopmast
 head but / showed no other colours our boats returnd
 we seeing 3 / ships more in the offn I sent one hand^{th e}
 to y^e fort to give / y^e gov.^r notice so came away w y^e
 shallop along w y^e / pinnaces meeting y^e hand I had
 sent who brought orders / for him & 2 more to return
 to y^e marsh & I w y^e others / to go home had not been
 long there but saw a boat come / from y^e french creek
 so man'd y^e 2 pinnaces went after her / I likewise running
 down along shore she put back again / our boats
 could not come up w themth it being almost high /
 water & a fresh gale left their chase & return'd I also
***** / meeting those 3 men^t y^e was in y^e marsh who
 said they saw / men landed in y^e marsh so we return'd^{th m}
 w y^e all except one / hand^{ch} w parted from y^m into y^e
 woods when y^e french boats / was near this side who
 came home after us & y^e ship w^{ch} / rid of y^e river wheiged
 & run of to sea after w we heard / several great guns
 at four afternoon M^r bishopth w / 10 men more went to
 y^e point of y^e marsh to / y^e shore / / [116]

friday y^e 27th fresh gales N^otherly Cloudy this morn.^g
 2 / clock saw a cannoe at w^{ch} fired some muskets our
 people / say'd they saw a fire at y^e back of y^e fort to
 day at 10 / y^e ships weig^hed from y^e mouth of portnelson
 & stood for this / river being only two at one a clock
 one came to anchor / of our rivers mouth & fired
 2 guns his boat came of / from y^e fourteens & went
 aboard we fired one gun / by consent for our men
 to come^{ch} home w^{ch} they did about five / afternoon y^e other
 ship came to anchor of y^e point of / y^e marsh to day
 broke up 2 chest of guns & loaded y^m / & those remaining
 in y^e trading room in all about a / hundred last night
 watcht 5 & 6 men in a watch 2 / hours /
 Saturday y^e 28th fresh gales N^o E. last night watcht 10 /
 in a watch 3 hours each about one this morn.^g our /
 men said they saw men near y^e palasadoes at w^{ch} they /
 fired some small arms about noon it blowed very /
 hard D. w^o rain hail & snow in so much y^t y^e albem / arle
 drove & our deerings pinnace sunk at her / moorings
 ores & all things went a drift could not / launch a
 boat to fetch y^m /
 Sunday y^e 29th fresh gale N^otherly this morn.^g half / foot
 snow on y^e ground saw one of y^e ships drove a / shore
 in y^e marsh y^e other not in sight our people / went
 down along shore to see for our pinnaces / ores found
 6 of y^e frenches ores & some rack att 11 / forenoon
 man'd y^e seafords pinnace M^r Bishop & / 9 more in
 her went to look on y^e ship but 2 boats / coming round
 y^e point before he gott down they sent to / y^e ship &

fetcht more men so he lay a considerable / time
 afterwards returnd said they were loadenth w goods
 his spritsail has been loose all day one hand came to
 y^e / woods Edge & fir'd 3 times at which we fired
 small arms /

Munday y^e 30th moderate gales between y^e N.^o & y^e W.^t
 frost / this morn.^g 5 a clock their boat went from y^e
 place / where they landed there goods round to y^e
 ships about 9 / forenoon saw 3 ships more in sight at
 half Eb a boat / came from y^e ships in y^e offing to
 sheaground one / canoe came down y^e river /

Tuesday y^e 31st fair weath.^r wind ditto this morn.^g they
 landed / many men & came nearer y^e fort at w^{ch} we
 fired several / great guns & y^e great mortar twice
 once about 9 / forenoon a canoe came from tother
 side w cap.th / smithson who gave an acco.^t of 16 or 18
 men of his / / [117] on tother side so went wth a pinnace
 & 2 canoes M^r Newton / in one & I in y^e other in
 coming back M^r Newton was shott in / y^e belly from
 y^e woods Edge & kept fireing at their small / arms at
 y^e fort & weat them now & then a great gun / rewarded
 y^e Indians for Bringing cap:^t smithson traded y^e /
 others Beav.^r & sent y^m away watcht half watch this
 Even.^g / y^e 2 ships came in to lower five fathom hole /
 Wednesday y^e 1st Sept.^r fair weath. wind Werly / several
 small arms fired on both sides to day came / 2 french
 men wth a flag of truce to demand y^e 3 prison / ers w^{ch} we
 would not grant M^r newton dyed at 4 morn.^g /

Thursday y^e 2^d fine weath.^r small Breezes S^o W^t they /

begun to play their mortar hove 4 shells then / cameth
 w a flag of truce to demand y^e fort being denyed / went
 their way & fired again till they had hove 15 / & we
 fourteen then came again telling us we / should have
 no quarters we told y^m if they would / not allow us
 time to consider we would have none / so y^e Gov.^r
 drew up a paper & brought on y^e platform / to satisfie
 y^e men they should have every one a / years pay gratis
 if they would sign y^e paper^{same} & we / kept y^e fort some
 did signe others not & said would / not sell their lives
 for a little money so sent / our articles & in y^e Even.^g
 I M^r Bishop M^r Clark / went to their camp to hear
 their final ans^r so / diberveal writt his resolution
 demanded y^e fort / by one a clock y^e next day & our
 answer by 8 in / y^e morn.^g /
 friday y^e 3^d fair weath.^r wind ditto finding such great
 force / as nine hundred men & y^e ill tidings of our own
 ships / concluded could not keep it & so agreed to y^e
 articles aforesign'd / by monseir & y^e Gov.^r & marcht
 out by one a clock & y^e french / took possession of
 y^e fort this being y^e end of a / Tedious winter & tragical
 Journal by / me Henry Kelsey / / [118]

A Journal of a Voyage by Gods permission / in y^e
 deering frigott from England to hudsons / bay P
 Cap.^t crimmington Comm.^r &c In / 1698 kept by me
 henry kelsey /

Munday June y^e 13th having sett our Pilot on shoar /
 this Even.^g & hoisted our Boats in 8 a Clock took our
 depart / ure from thorpness lying in y^e latitude of 52^d : 30^m

N^o / sent y^e Perry a head went wth Easy sail till 8 this morn. / we went a head saw several sail about us this last 16 / hours thick weath.^r wth some rain have made my course / N^o 38 : 8 E^d diff: of latt. 60 Dep.^m 32 : 8 Dist 68 & at / 12 noon had 15 fathom thorpness bore N.N W dist 3 / mile /

Tuesday June y^e 14th Clear weath.^r wth moderate gales between / y^e S^o W^t & W N W this afternoon spoke wth a ship called y^e / frienly society of London came from Norway soon after / took y^e perry in a tow about midnight reefed maintopsail / this morn.^g fair weath.^r let out reef soundings att 2 / this morn.^g 40 fath.^m at 4 : 18 at 6 : 20 at 8 : 17 at 10 : 11 at / 12 : 15 my diff Latt.^{de} 92" 6 Dep. 17 : 2 Dist 93 my true / course this 24 hours is N. 05 : 37^m W.^t /

Wednesday y^e 15th Clear wth fine Breezes between y^e S^o W / & N^o W^t. at 5 this Even.^g y^e Perry lying a stern we lay by & / try'd for fish at 6 made sail soon after saw a dogger att / anchor right a head when we came up wth her our / pinnace went on board & bought some cods & $\frac{1}{2}$ an / hour past 3 reefed both topsails & between 8 & 12 we / hand y^m both my diff of Latt. is 93 Dep. 55. dist / 108^m my course made good this 24 hours is N. 30 : 56 W^t / Thorpness bears of me this 16th day at noon S^o 9 : 35 / E^t dist 248 I being in y^e Latt of 56 : 35 N^o / Thursday y^e 16 fresh gales from y^e W to y^e N^o W^t at 6 this / Even.^g set maintopsail & at half past 8 took it in again at / one after midnight hawl'd up foresail at 3 this morn.^g set him / again having laid a try 2 hours

& at 6 this morn.^g set fore / topsail this morn.^g saw a
 dogger dist 4 miles my Diff of / latt.^{de} is 63.2 Dep.
 42" 3 dist 76 from y^e 16 noon to y^e 17 / noon my true
 course is N^o 33 : 45 W^t from thorpness bearing /
 S^o 308 miles I am in y^e Latt.^{de} of 57 : 38 N^o // [119]
 friday y^e 17 thick weath.^r w moderate gales between
 N^o N^o W / & W^t N^o W^t at 6 this Even.^g set maintopsaile
 & at 4 this morn.^g / tackt & bore up to y^e perry weath.^r
 very uncertain at / forenoon took down our maintop
 gallant mast from y^e 17 / noon to y^e 18 noon my diff
 Latt is 18 2 dep. 11 : 4 dist 21 / my true course
made good is N^o 33 : 45 W^t thorness bears S^o / 2 : 49
 E^t Dist 330 miles I am in y^e latt of 57 : 56 /
 Saturday y^e 18 Clearth w Easy gales between y^e N^o N^o W^t
 & S^o W^t / this Even.^g at 6 very fair weath^r & at midnight
 tack & saw 12 or / 13 sail of duch fishing busses sent
 our pinnace aboard they / sent our cap.^t some cod
 then our boat went on board again w ath / small present
 they sent us more cod & some herrings at 9 this /
 forenoon tackt from y^e 18 noon to y^e 19 noon my course
 made / good is W^t 32 miles diff latt oo thorpness bears
 S^o 8 : 26 E^t / dist 333 miles I am in y^e Latt.^d of 57 : 56 /
 Sunday y^e 19 fair weath.^r little wind between y^e W^t
 S^o therly / at 4 this mor*^g aftern.ⁿ went w y^e pinnace a
 fishing caught 3 / cod Cap.^t Bayley came on board
 tarried some time & / returnd to his ship at 6 this
 morn.^g saw y^e Land from y^e 19 / noon to y^e 20 noon
 my course made good is W^t 8 : 26 N^o diff / of Latt^{de}
 12 : 4 Dist 89 thorpness bears S^o 22.30 E^t dist / 366

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mile W^ting 132 mile I am in y^e Latt^{de} of 58.8 N^o /
Munday y^e 20th fine gales between y^e E^t & W^t S^o.therly /
at 3 this afternoon Dunkins head bore N^o N^o E Dist /
3 leagues at 2 this morn.^g reefed topsails & at 4 came to
an / anchor in castin road in 6 fath.^m wind W^t N^o W^t
this 24 / hours have had y^e weath.^r very uncertainth w
squall / & rain / /

[120]

month day	Latt ^{de} P D D M D M	Easting in miles	Wing in miles	Course corrected from hoy head	Dist in \overline{m} miles	West Longitude in D. miles	E ^t Longitude in miles	variation	Course from day to day
Thursday June y 23 ^d	\overline{d}^m 59 : 36		75 : 2	$\overline{N^o}^d$ 13 \overline{d}^m N ^o 73 : 08 W ^t	79	\overline{d}^m 15 : 50		\overline{d}^m 16 : 52	$\overline{N^o}^d$ 73 : 8 W ^t
Friday June y 24 th to y 25 th noon	59 : 39		101	$\overline{N^o}^d$ 78 : 45 W ^t	105	\overline{d}^m 16 : 40		\overline{d}^m 20 : 00	87 : 12 W ^t
Saturday June y 25 th noon to y 26 th noon	60 : 03		133	$\overline{N^o}^d$ 56 : 17 W ^t	162	\overline{d}^m 17 : 44		20 : 00	$\overline{N^o}^d$ 47 : 47 W ^t
from y 26 th noon to y 27 th noon	60 : 40		185	$\overline{N^o}^d$ 64 : 43 W ^t	205	19 : 28			$\overline{N^o}^d$ 56 : 15 W ^t

• ^o th munday June y 27 • ^o th noon to y 20 noon	60 : 03		222	N ^o ^d ^m 75 : 52 W ^t	228	20 : 42		^d ^m 20 : 30	S ^o ^d 45 : 00 W ^t
• ^o th Tuesday June y 28 • ^o th noon to y 29 noon	58 : 43		284	S ^o ^d ^m 84 : 23 W ^t	288	22 : 46			S ^o ^d ^m 51 : 37 W ^t
• ^o th Wednesday June y 29 • ^o th noon to y 30 noon	58 : 49		332	S ^o ^d ^m 87 : 13 W ^t	336	24., 22			N ^o ^m 81 : 32 W ^t
• ^o th from y 30 noon to y 1 July ditto	57 : 49		378	S ^o ^d ^m 75 : 58 W ^t	384	25 : 54			S ^o ^d ^m 36 : 30 W ^t
• ^o st • ^o ^d from y 1 noon to y 2 ditto	57 : 03		414	S ^o ^d ^m 74 : 08 W ^t	438	27 : 06			S ^o 39 W ^t
• ^o ^d • ^o ^d from y 2 noon to y 3 Ditto	57 : 39		446	S ^o ^d ^m 75 : 58 W ^t	462	28 : 10			N ^o ^d ^m 50 : 3 W ^t

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[121]

Wednesday august y^e 10th fresh gales between
y^e / N^o E^t & S^o E^t E^t erly some times fog & rain

westing

long miles

Latt^{de}
P D D
62 : 34

we have / sailed this 24 hours through shat-
tered broken ledges / of ice at noon saw a
white Bear from y^e 10th noon to / y^e 11th ditto
my course made good is W^t 25 : 17 S^o diff /
Latt 46 : 01* Dep. 98 : 6 dist 111 miles &
I find / cape diggs to bear of me E^t 21 : 30
N^o Dist 31 leagu^{es} /

85 : 3 : 07

D D
61 : 48

Thursday y^e 11th fresh gales between y^e N^o W^t &
y^e S^o E^o / S^o therly about 6 this Even^g. gott clear
wath foggy from / y^e 11th noon to y^e 12th ditto
my course made good is S^o / 25 : 17 W^t diff
Latt 46 : 3 dep 25 : 9 dist 53 miles / Digs
bears E. 39 : 38 N^o Dist 46 Leagues /

110 : 4 : 02

Latt^{de}
P D D
61 : 00

Friday y^e 12th moderate gales from y^e S^o B E^t /
to y^e S^o W^o S^o therly weath. very uncertain my /
course made good is S^o 42 : 13 W^t diff Latt
48 : 1 / dep. 43 : 0 dist 65 miles Digs bears
E^t 39 : 22 N^o / dist 67 Leagues from y^e 12th noon
to y^e 13th ditto /

153 : 5 : 51

P D D
59 : 50

Saturday y^e 13th fine gales from y^e S^o E^o to y^e
S^o W^o / S^o therly at this Even^g had an amplicate
found y^e / variation to be 33 : 15 at 6 this
morn^g. reefed both / topsails at 11 handed
maintopsails at 12 / handed foretopsails from
y^e 13th noon to y^e 14th / ditto my course made
good is S^o 22 : 30 W^t / diff Latt 70 Dep. 29 : 8
dist 67 miles diggs / bears N^o 42 : 13 E^t Dist

183 : 6 : 51

	91 Leagues /	
P D D $\frac{d}{m}$ 61 : 00	Sunday y ^e 14 th fresh gales from y ^e E ^t S ^o E ^t to y ^e	W ^t miles
$\frac{d}{m}$ 58 : 50	W ^t / So W ^t S ^o therly at 7 this Even. handed	miles Long
$\frac{d}{m}$ 58 : 48	main / topsails at 8 handed foretopsaile at	171 : 6 : 28 ^m
	9 sett y ^e / latter from y ^e 14 noon to y ^e 15 ditto	
	my course / made good is S ^o 11 : 15 E ^t diff	
	Latt ^{de m} 62 : 4 dep. / 12 : 9 dist 64 miles digs	
	bears N ^o 33 : 15 E ^t dist / 104 Leagues /	
P observ $\frac{d}{m}$ 58 : 20 *** **	Munday y ^e 15 th hard gales from about S ^o W ^t /	vari 30 : 38
	at 3 aftern ⁿ handed foretopsail at 10 this /	100 4 : 15 ^m
	morn ^g set both topsails sailing by a ledge of /	
	broaken ice from y ^e 15 noon to y ^e 16 ditto my /	
	course made good is E ^t 22 : 30 S ^o diff Latt ^{de}	
	3 ^m 0 / Dep. 70 : 9 dist 78 miles digs bears	
	N ^o / bears N ^o 18 : 50 E ^t dist 104 Leagues / /	
	[122] day y ^e 16 th s	
Latt ^{de} P D D $\frac{d}{m}$ 57 : 51	Tuesday y ^e 16 th small gales from y ^e S ^o E ^t to S W	
	at 2 / aftern. sounded had 65 fathom at 4	
	62 fath. / at 63 fath. at 4 morn. had 75 fath.	
	some / shattered Ice from y ^e 16 noon to y ^e	
	17 th noon ditto / my course made good is	112 : 4 : 37 ^m
	S ^o 22 : 30 W. diff Latt ^{de m} / 29 : 5 Depart. 11 : 8	
	dist 32 miles Diggs bears N / 19 : 53 E ^t dist	
	114 Leagues /	
Latt ^{de} P D D $\frac{d}{m}$ 57 : 42	Wednesday aug y ^{st e} 17 th fine gales from S ^o to	20 4 52 ^m
	S E / till midnight it began to blow & rain	20 4 52 ^m
	at 7 Even ^g made / fast fog at noon saw a seel	
	on y ^e ice sent a boat / w 3 hands but could	
	not get him from y ^e 17 noon / to y ^e 18 ditto	

	my course made good is S ^o 43 ^d W ^t diff / Latt ^{de} 8 : 9 Dep. 8 : 3 dist 12 miles diggs bears / N ^o 20 : 50 E ^m dist 118 Leagues /	
Latt ^{de} P D D 57 : 32	Thursday y ^e 18 small gales from S ^o E to / N ^o E at 4 afternoon rained at 8 Even made y ^e / fast at 4 morn. loosed from y ^e 18 noon to y ^e 19 ditto / my course made good is S ^o 19 ^d * 50 W Diff latt / 20 Dep 4 : 6 Dist 12 miles diggs bears N ^o 19 43 / E ^t Dist 120 Leagues / friday y ^e 19 Easy winds between y ^e W ^t & y ^e N ^o at 8 Even ^g / sounded had 97 fath. at 7 morn. made fast at 10 / sounded had 87 fath. all oose had P amplitude / Even. 28 : 7 variation from y ^e 19 noon to y ^e 20 ditto / my course made good is S ^o 2 : 37 W diff Latt ^{de} 11 : 5 / Dep. 1 Dist 12 miles diggs bears N ^o 19 : 57 E ^t dist / 124 Leagues /	W ^t miles Long 124 : 4 59 varia 28 : 07 125 5 : 01
P D D observ 57 : 18	Saturday y ^e 20 fog fallin* at 2 aftern. Loosed at / 4 made fast at 8 Loosed wind between y ^e N & y ^e E at / one morn made fast at four loosed y ^e ice a little / open from y ^e 20 noon to y ^e 21 ditto my course made / is S ^o 15 : 15 west diff Latt 25 : 4 Dep. 5 : 1 Dist 26 / miles Diggs bears N ^o 19 : 57 E ^t dist 134 Leagues /	1301
P observ 55 : 36	Sunday y ^e 21 fine gales at N ^o b E Clear at 2 aftern gott out of ice / at 10 night had 36 fath at 12 : 28 at 2 morn ^g 22 at 4 : 18 / fath. at 6 16 fath at 8 : 22 fath. at 10 : 13 at 12 :	vari 26 : 00 95 : 4 : 07

1698

13 / fath.^m Saw y^e land bearing S^o W B W dist
7 leagues from / y^e 21st noon to y^e 22^d ditto my
course made good is S^o 25 / 17 E^t diff latt^{de}
77 : 5 dep^{tr} 35 : 9 Dist 83 miles digs / bears
N^o 12 : 30 E^t dist 154 leagues / / [123]

Latt^{de}
P observ
54 : 30

Munday y^e 22^d fine gales from N^o to S W^t Long vari
Werly / from 12 to 2 had from 11 to 18^m miles
fath. from 2 to 4 / had 18 & 2 from 4 to 6^m
had 22 from 6 to 2 morn.^g / had y^e same from
2 to 4 had 30 fath. from 4 to 6 / had 34 from
6 to 8 had 33 from 8 to ten had 30 from /
10 to 12 had 25 fath.^m y^e Body of y^e bears 68 : 3 : 17^m
Islands / bore N^o N E dist 6 Leagues from
y^e 22^d noon to y^e / 23^d ditto had my course
made good is S^o 22 : 30 E^t / diff Latt^{de} 64 : 7^m
Dep.^{tr} 26 : 8 dist 70 miles digs / Bears N^o
7 : 30 E^t dist 174 Leagues /

P observ

53 : 31^m

Tuesday y^e 23^d moderate gales from S^o to
N^o Werly / from 12 to 2 had from 14 to 10^m
fath. from 2 to 4 had / 25 fath^m from 4 to 6^m
had 22 & 14 from 6 to 8 had 22 / & 23 from
8 to ten had 23 & 21 from 10 to 12 had 19 & /
18 from 12 to 2 had 22 & 25 from 2 to 4 had
25 & 23 / from 4 to 6 had 20 from 6 to 8
had 20 & 15 from 8 / to 10 had 14 & 11^m
from 10 to 12 had 10 fath. a 3 / aftern.ⁿ took
y^e perry in a tow at 6 Broke their / tow line
at 8 this morn.^g took her in a tow wth our /
tow line from the 23 noon to y^e 24th ditto my

68 : 3 : 17^m

1698-1701

course / made good is S^o diff latt^{de m} 57 dep^{tr} o
digs bears / N^{o d} 7 : 00 E^{m t} dist 194 leagues bears
Islands bears / N^{o D} 8 : 22 E^{m t} dist 25 Leagues / /
[124]

Albany fort Sep^{tr e th} y 5 1701 /

Hon.^{ble} /
S.^{rs} /

I return you humble thanks for y^e Lett^r you sent me
subscrib'd / y^e 28 of may & having this oppertunity
send this to acquaint / you y^{t e} Gov^r has used all means
y^t may be to encourage / y^e ottaways & oth.^r Indians
to come down & has caused / me to make speeches to
y^m all y^t here would come / brandy & oth^r goods plenty
this against their / coming & do not doubt but here
may be a good / trade next year if y^e french setting at
severn / this sumer does not hinder it y^e Gov^r also has /
sent to y^e E^t main this sum^{mr} but great part / of y^e Indians
were gone before we came by / reason y^e breaking up
of y^e river hove our ship / on y^e bank of bayleys Iland
so y^t great part / of y^e summ. was spent in getting her
of & now / is sending me to y^e E^t main master of y^e ship
& / factory^{ch} w^{rs} trust I shall discharge to y^e utmost / of
my Endeav.^{rs} to increase y^e trade of small furs or or /
any oth^r Commoditie y^t may ad to your interest & /
Likewise to y^e saving of w^t provision I can Hon.^{ble} /
Sirs I was desirous to winter at Slude river but y^e /
Gov^r & council did not think it fitting by reason / none

1701-1683-1690

is acquainted w^{th e} y breaking up so it is defer'd till / next
year by w^{ch} time I shall be able to give your / Hon.^{rs} a
bett.^r acco.^t & hope you will be please to / consider my
supplying of 2 mens place to ad ten / pound to my
sala^ry as a gratitude if I do well & do / believe y^e
want of a Continual settlement is y^e / loss of y^t trade / /
[125]

Memorandum of my abode in hudsons bay from 1683
to / 1722

In 83 I went out in y^e ship lucy Jn.^o outlaw command^r /
In 88 after 3 indians being employ'd for great rewards
to carry / letters from hays river to new severn they
return'd wth out / performing y^e business altho paid then
I was sent wth an indian boy / & in a month return'd
wth answers /

In 89 Cap.^t James young put me & y^e same Indian boy
ashore / to y^e N^o ward of Churchill river in order to
bring to a commerce / y^e N^o thern indians but we saw
none altho we travell'd above / 200 miles in search of
y^m & when we came back to churchill / y^e house was
burnt y^t was building for y^t trade /

In 90 y^e Comp.^y employed 2 french men viz Gooseberry
& Gramm / Grammair y^e former at 80 £ P^{m e} ann. y^m
latter at 40 to go amongst / y^e natives to draw y^m to
a trade but they did not go 200 miles from / y^e factory
upon w^{ch} I was sent away w^{t e} y stone Indians in whose /
Country I remaind 2 years Enduring much hardships

1692-1711

& did increase / y^e trade considerably as may be
perceiv'd by their acco.^t books / & I return'd to y^e
factory in 92 /

In 92 I came to England /

In 94 I went again & was taken by y^e french & brought
home /

In 96 was at y^e retaking y^e fort again /

In 97 was taken again when y^e hampshire was lost /

In 98 went for albanthy fort w cap^t James knight /

In 1701 I was ordain'd master of y^e knight frig.^{te} &
chief at y^e Eastmain / formerly y^e master of a vessel
had 40£ P^m ann. & y^e trader 40 d. / all w^{ch} I dischar'd
for 50£ P^m ann. /

In 1703 I return'd for Eng.^d /

In 1706 I went out mate of y^e perry frig^{te} Jo.^s davis
Com.^{dr} in ord* / upon my arrival to be chief trader at
alban^{dr}y fort or Elsewhere / however I was kept out
of my Employ a year by Gov^r Beal / who y^e following
summ.^r sent me in y^e Perry knight frig^{te} to / y^e E^t main
to gath.^r y^t trade w^{ch} I did /

In 1708 I receiv'd P^t Cap^t fullartun y^r commission to
be / deputy under him & he sent me Chief to y^e E^t main
y^e same fall / & when we returnd y^e next spring found
by he they had been / assaulted by y^e french /

In 1711 Cap^t Jn^o fullartun gave me a Commission
bearing date / y^e 31st July & y^e 21st Sep.^{tr} following y^e
indians brough me word they / saw a ship to y^e N^o ward
of y^e river I sent boats out to look but did / not see
y^e ship till y^e 25th in y^e aftern. y^{n^e} 26 sent 10 men in y^e sloop /

well arm'd likewise 2 indians & their Cannoe on board to be sent / on board y^e strange ship when y^e sloop gott wth out y^e sands into / 3 fath.^m water I also sent 2 indians in anoth.^r Cannoe who / gott on board as soon as appear'd by Gov^r Beals coming to / / [126] y^e fort in a cannoe I sent in y^e sloop who told me it was y^e / Perry frig. who in coming into y^e river run a ground & / y^e sloop laid her on board & loaded wth goods to lighter y^e / perry y^{te} 27th y^e sloop came to y^e fort & Cap.^t Beale read / his commission & I gave him possession of y^e fort y^e 29th Cap^t / ward & some of his men came wth y^e ill news of y^e perrys being / bilg'd & sunk so y^e sloop went down to her y^e same Even.^g / the 30th this morn.^g Gov^r Beale Desired me to take charge / of y^e knight to go down to y^e Perry to save what could / be of y^e Cargo accordingly I did & we met y^e sloop against / y^e lower end of Bayleys Isleand y^e river being frose / full of ice they were forced to anchor & we gott y^e / knight aboard y^e Perry / Octo^{br} y^e 2^d we gott y^e sloop & knight both to y^e fort / & took out both their loadings /

In 1712 I came to England /

In 1714 I went out in y^e union Cap.^t B Harle Comm^r / wth your commission to be deputy 4 years under him / Cap^t James young knight wth y^e benefit of a serv^t & if / your hon.^{rs} please to peruse those Journals you will / find Exerted my utmost to gett a new fort & when you / ordered me gov^r 1718 I had gott my things on board / y^e Prosperous hoy in order to winter at

1718-1720

churchill to / Endeav.^r bringing^e y^e nothern trade but
this was / hindred by ^{misfortune} reason^e y^e hudsonsbay loosing
her gripe* /

In 1719 June 22^d the trade being ov^r I sailed w^{th e} y^{rs} prosp. /
for churchill ariv'd y^e 30^{th e d} y 2 July I sailed w^{t e} y^c success
in / comp.^{ny o} Jn Hancock master y^{e th} 5 traded two of
your / slaves for 2 Eskemoesth w^{c th} Eskemoes y 20 I
changed two of / your slaves for 2 Eskemoes in order
to gett interpeters of / their Language & to know w^t
their Cuntry afforded so I / proceeded to y^e N^oward
seeing & trading wth several / parcels of Eskemoes till
y^{e th} 28 then I return'd / & y^{e th} 9 of aug.st gott to york fort /
1719 Aug. y^{st e th e} 24 y^{te} hudsons bay frigg. was lost where /
I had a narrow escape for my life & If I had not staid /
till y^{e d} 2 of Sep.^{tr} to get y^e cargo out on shore their would /
have been little of it sav'd but as I did little of it /
was lost except y^e provissions w^{ch} was hard upon / me
having all y^e ships comp.^y & passengers be / / [127]
sides those I had before to maintain y^{e th} 18 fitted y^e† /
Prosp.^s hoy for England & all I put on board was
not† / seven tuns weight & but 34 men & their
provision / altho they said I loaded her deep & they
return'd y^e / next day after they went out being
y^{e st} 21 & y^{e d th} 22 w a / great deal to do I sent her wth 25
men to churchill / y^{e th} 7 of march had nine men came
from churchill / by my orders for to Ease y^t place of
provisions /

1720 July y^{e d} 2 M^r handcock saild w^{th e} y^s success for
churchill / & their to shift into y^e Prosp. & to proceed

*This reading is not certain.

†So the copyist. When collated this upper
corner of the page had frayed away.

on discovery to / y^e N^oward having y^e 2 Eskemoes
wth him to deliver to / their friends & to bring your
2 slaves back but they / was dead 22^d July the success
arriv'd from Churchill y^e / 23^d sent M^r Lucas in y^e
success to y^e H Bay for goods / y^e 27th y^e Succ. came here
y^e 28th I sent her again for goods / & both times gave
orders if Cap. ward wanted her to have / y^e hudsons
bay down to make use of her but not to run / any
risque of Loosing her agust y^e 1st y^e success came / here
y^e 2^d sent her again for ^{all y^e heavy} goods y^e 6 y^e success came /
here y^e 9 y^e prosp. came her from her nothern discovery /
& M^r handcock told me y^e albany sloop had winter'd /
where he had been last year but he could not / reach
y^e place y^e 10th sent y^e success to Churchill to / wait
y^e arrival of a ship till y^e 20th & y^e prosp. saild / to y^e
H bay to bring all things of value y^e 13 y^e pros. /
came here withall things except y^e bricks & can* /
balls y^e 14th sent y^e prosp. for y^e rest of y^e things y^e 21 y^e /
Prosp. came here for y^e standing rigging & all /
moveables y^e 22 y^e succ. came from Churchill y^e / 26^t
gave cap ward an ord. to comm. y^e Prosp. & / gett
ready to sail by y^e last of this month Sept. / y^e 1 y^e
prosp. saild for Engl. y^e 2^d saw two sail in / the offin
y^e 3 y^e hannah & prosp. anchord against / y^e fort y^e 7 y^e
prosp. saild for churchill wth those / goods consign'd
to y^e place y^e 13 I Pilloted y^e hannah / to y^e lower hole
where she continued till y^e 18th & then / sail'd for Engl.
y^e wind presenting /
Sept. y^e 25 y^e Prosp. return'd from Churchill †bran 10

*Edge of paper frayed.

†Ink of remainder of line is faded.

gall. /

1721 July y^e 26 I saild in y^e prosp.^{s th e} w y^s Succ.^s in comp.^y
 James / wapper mast^r for churchill y^e 30 lost y^e success / /
 [128]

July* y^e 8 took on board y^e red & white Earth y^e 10 gott
 to / Churchill* theth 13 saild for y^e Eskemoes cuntry
 having / Rich.^d Norton & an N^othern indian on board
 to show / me y^e copper y^e 21st saw Eskemoes y^e 23^d saw
 more Aug. y^{st e} / † 1st saw more y^e 9 I bore away because
 y^e winds did not / favour my Intentions of going
 farther to y^e N^oward / to look for y^e place where y^e
 albany sloop was lost / we seeing things belonging to
 those vessels y^e 16th I / gott to churchill where we lay
 wind bound till / y^e 28 & I had promised M^r Staunton
 I would come / back & winter in order to look for
 y^e Copp.^r to keep / y^e N^othern indians till I return'd
 to give y^m orders / Sept. y^e 1st I saw a sloop^{ch} w prov'd
 to be y^e whalebone / Jn Senog Mast.^r arriv'd from
 England & Cap^t / Gofton on board so I went on board
 to hear w^t news / & we rid a very hard ^{storm & they} strong gale
 had never an / anchor to trust to but y^t on y^e ground
 & he would / have me taken charge of his vessel
 but I / understood you had ordered me y^e contrary /
 however I told him if he would turn her adrift / I
 would Endev.^r to save our lives & ship & goods† /
 wth much ado he slipt y^e cable wth a buoy as did / also
 y^e prosp^{rs} & thank god we gott both very / well in y^e
 10th gave all y^e 3 Cap. their sailing / orders y^e 12th all
 saild & Gofton had a Clause in / his orders to touch

*So the copyist. When collated the edge
 here had frayed away.

†Edge of paper frayed.

1721-1722

at Churchill to take in M.^r / Staunton if he could do
it by y^e 16th /

1722 august y^e 7th y^e mary arriv'd & run aground / on
y^e cross bar sand & Cap.^t maclish came / ashore y^e
16th y^e hannah & whalebone came / in here from
Churchill—————/ /



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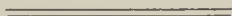
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